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EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.Foreign Politics.

The emigration of Indians to British Guiana.

4. Referring to the committee appointed from among the members of the Imperial Legislative Council to interview the deputation that has arrived from British Guiana for the purpose of recruiting Indian labourers, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th Febraury, observes:- It is patent that an attempt is being made to recruit coolies here by offering several facilities, only because coolies are not available to improve that country. Every one is aware of the bold pronouncement of Lord Hardinge, that it is not the duty of India to supply the labourers for securing the advancement of the colonies. Therefore, this question should be decided only in view of the advantages to be derived by those who migrate to that country voluntarily. Considering the number of persons that have proceeded to British Guiana in recent years, the strength of the Indian population there should be double what it is now. This raises the question how many Indians have succumbed to disease, on account of the climate of the country not suiting them. If the reduction of the population is due to this cause, it is the duty of the committee now appointed to go into this question fully. The members of the deputation says that the Europeans and Indians enjoy equal status there politically. The experience of Indians in South Africa and other places has proved that they cannot advance an inch in a foreign country, a long way off and ruled by a foreign race, unless they have an equal politics political status with the other races there and that, even though such a status is granted on paper, the

the Europeans can gradually deprive the Indians of all their privileges, if power is practically in the hands of the former. The Indian Member of the deputation says that, as the indenture system has been practically abolished the Indians can now emigrate as free settlers. But it should be noted that, of the 15 non-official members in the Legislative Council of that country, he is the only Indian representative, though the fact that the Indians form nearly a half of the population would warrant about half of the representative members being Indians. The only reason for this should be that the majority of the Indians have not been qualified to be voters or candidates. The qualification for a voter is that he should pay an income-tax of not less than three pounds. It is hard to expect an Indian, who goes there as a coolie, to save sufficiently to engage in a trade and come to such a position as to pay an income-tax of three pounds. This is possible only for those who have been carrying on trade there for generations. It is on account of this high qualification for a voter that there are only 4,500 voters in that country with a population of 3 lakhs, and most of these can easily guess, are Europeans. The qualification for a candidate again is an annual incomes of £300 and therefore many of the Indians there cannot stand as such. Thus the privilege which the Indian member of the deputation makes mention of exists only on paper but not in practice. The very fact that a sub-committee including this gentlemen himself has requested the Governor to nominate two more Indians on the Legislative Council shows that they feel that they are not able to return a suitable number of members in proportion to their population. Thus it is clear that neither the political nor the economic condition of the Indians there is satisfactory. There the number are not increasing and another sub-committee has been appointed

to improve their sanitary condition and prevent the spread of diseases. They have not sufficient funds to hope to be enlisted as voters. Under these circumstances we do not see what facilities can be had by Indians proceeding to that place. Considering the condition of India, it is not in her interests that her children should get out. It is a known fact that there is a dearth of labourers here and, the large the number of Indians that migrate to other countries, the greater is the loss to her. Further it is detrimental to the prestige of India that any of her sons should proceed to any other country, as a coolie; for it only brings on discredit and hardships to Indians generally. Another point to be considered is whether the equal status now offered to the Indians proceeding to British Guiana will continue for ever. When the Indians began to migrate to Natal, they had an equal status; but laws were passed subsequently to deprive them of their privileges. Cannot the same procedure be followed in British Guiana too? Considering these facts, it is regrettable that the Government of India should have appointed a committee to meet the deputation from British Guiana, instead of accepting the suggestion of Pandit Malaviya and appointing a committee to ascertain what the Indians have already in that place have to say about their condition. It is surprising indeed that the Moderates on the present committee should expect to ascertain the truth from the members of the deputation, who are interested in securing labourers for their country. So those who recommend the migration of Indians to British Guiana, without making a personal inquiry into the matter, will not be caring for the interests of this country.

Indians and British Guiana.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th Febraruy, has a leader on this subject again and, quoting, with approval, the remarks of Mr. Gandhi about the various arguments advanced by the deputation from British Guiana for attracting Indians thereto, concluded, from his last suggestion that a ship-load

of Indians may be sent as an experimental measure, and that Rev. C.F. Andrews may be deputed to report upon their condition, that the deputation has perhaps moved him too, seeing the difficulties that lie in its way, and adds that it is not patent in whose interests this experiment has to be made.

Indians in Ceylon.

5. Remarking that the condition of the Indians in Ceylon is getting worse day by day and that though the major portion of the trade of the place is in the hands of the Indians, it looks as if they will lose all their privileges for want of union among themselves, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 8th Febraury, says:- To add to their difficulties, the rice problem has cropped up. The stoppage of the export of the rice thereto from India and the fact that the Government of India have begun to make a profit by charging an increased price of Rs.10/- for every bag have made the Ceylonese hate the Indians there openly. A paper published in Colombo wants that rice should be supplied to Ceylon without the profit of Rs.20, at least in consideration of the fact that there are eight lakhs of Indians there engaged in several avocations and that if all of them return to India it will create a great difficulty here and goes to the length of asking why, if the Indian Government do not note this point but care only for profit, a tax should not be levied on the trade carried on by the Indians there. The argument that they are providing food for the Indian coolies evokes laughter. If a coolie worked, receiving 40 cents, the platers get Re.1/- as a result of that labour; But we have to think that the present unsympathetic policy of the Government of India will affect the Indians there. What can this Government do, if taxes are levied on Indian trade there? How far have they been able to redress the grievances of the Indians in South Africa?

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It is not at any rate magnanimous on the part of the Government of India to subject a large body of Indians to hardship, caring only for profit.

The same paper refers elsewhere to an Indian having been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for one month for having refused to work eventhough he contended that he was brought only to do theduties of a barber, and observes:- Is there a worse law than this? It is not proper to deem refusal to work to be a criminal offence like theft, etc., and punish one therefor. What is the use of the reform, if the Indian coolies are subjected to such a cruel law? It is said that arrangements have been made to reduce the debt of the coolies. Is there any use of losing one's liberty and then getting money?

6. The SWADESAMITRAN of the 11th Febraury, reproduces in Tamil the gist of a letter said to have been written to Sir Rabindranath Tagore by the Rev. C.F. Andrews refuting the charge of immorality laid at the door of the Indians in East Africa.

Indians in East Africa.

In an article under this heading, a correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 8th Febraury, dwells upon the disabilities of the Indians in East Africa, which he traces to the jealousy of the white races, quotes statements from the speeches of Europeans of the leading in East Africa betraying this spirit, and concludes with a suggestion to the Government of India to publish that they are prepared to retaliate if the African trade unions do not change their ways.

10. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 17th Febraury, refers to the opinion of Mr. Gandhi that, as the condition of Indians in South Africa is gettings worse gradually, a big agitation should be raised throughout the country to safe-guard the rights of the Indians there and, remarking that he the whites, who were 'preaching' justice to the world during the war, have now forgotten their preaching and are actively committing unjust acts, adds that the Indians in far-off countries like South Africa cannot have justice unless a mighty agitation is raised here.

Indians in South Africa.

11. Referring to the news received about a riot in the Fiji Islands, in which these Europeans special constables are reported to have been wounded in arresting 200 Indian rioters, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 17th Febraury, is surpraised at no details being furnished by the authorities about events connected with Indians in the Fiji and the hopes that the Publicity officer at least will enlighten the public on this this point.

A riot in the Fiji Island.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th Febraury, is surpraised also refers, with regret, to the absence of detailed information on this point and observes:- There is nothing surprising in Reuter, who is constantly sending long messages about games in England, having refrained from giving any information about the Indians in the Fiji Islands. Will at least the representative from the islands, who have now come here to take coolies thereto, intimate to the Indians to the Indians the reason for the riot there?

12. The SWADESAMITRAN and the DESABHAKTAN, of the 17th Febraury, contains the proceedings of the All-India Khalifate Conference held at Bombay on the 15th idem.

The All-India Khilafate Conference.

Reviewing, in its leader under this heading, the proceedingsof the conference held at Bombay , the Andhrapatrika of the 17th Febraury, writes:- Mr. Morrison says that the Sultan of Turkey may be in Constantinople, but that the Peninsula of Gallipoli will be occupied ~~xxxx~~ by the(Sultan will) allied forces, and that hard problems may crop up about ~~xx~~ Syria, Palestine and Arabia. From this, it may be seen that the authority of the Sultan will be but nominal. Mr.Millerand proposes two solutions for the Turkish problem -- the Turkish Sultan to be sent out of Constantinople, or Constantinople to be kept under the Turks, but a close watch to be kept over them ~~Jews~~ by the other nations, and preferably the latter course. The authority of the Sultan will dwindle down, either way. Palestine is to be under the protection of the British and made over to the Jews for occupation. The proceedings of the Khilafate Congreence express that the frittering away of the Sultan's authorit in this manner both in Asia and Europe is a great grievance to the Muhammadans. It has been the custom of the English Ministers to say the settlement of the destiny of Turkey does not rest with them alone, but that all the allied States must consider the question. Neither the Chairman of the Reception Committee nor the President of the Congreence accepts this statement. The President says that Russia, immersed in her internal fueds, cannot spare any attention to this, that America has not yet accepted the treaty, that Japan is indifferent...... and that, if the ~~England~~ English want to give up Mesopotamia, none will compel them to occupy it. The Chairman of the Reception Committee says that Palestine and Mesapotamia should be given up by the English, if they want to satisfy the Muhammadans.

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If the English heartily wish to satisfy the Muhammadans xxx they can. The attention of the Muhammadan world is fixed on England and the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George increase the unrest among the Muhammadans. But Mr. Montagu and the Government of India have espoused the cause of the Muhammadans but the English leaders are unable to realise the firm convictions of the Muhammadans. The Hindus and the Muhammadans are at one about the Khalifate problem, and it is thus an all-India problem. The Bolsheviks are seeking to turn to account the discontent among the Muhammadans and it is necessary to conciliate them, if duly to check the spread of Bolshevism. The English Ministers must fulfil their promises, realising that thereby they will not only conciliate the Muhammadans, but also further the well-being of the Empire.

15. The QAUMI REPORT of the 9th Febraury the in the course of a leader on this subject writes:- We once more wish to draw the attention of the Muhammadans to the fact

The work ahead.

that the work which be lies before the community is that of the maintenance of the Khalifate and Islamic kingdoms. They should give up their internal dissensions and individual efforts, and should exert themselves strenuously, honourably, and modestly to solve the Khalifate question.

The writer suggests that Muhammadans should start making constitutional endeavours with the British Government. It is hardly sufficient sending two or more representatives to England. Rather should thousands of Muhammadans swarm the streets of London and impress the fact on the minds of the British nation that we have been dazed here by the imminent danger of the decline of the Khalifate brought about by their indifference.

18. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR? OF THE 12th Febraury, commenting on the effect of Bolshevik intrigues and wire-pulling on illiterate and ignorant people, cultivators and inexperienced boys to the breaking of their sacred pledge after a succession of victories, the ignoring of their undertakings with reference to equal rights and freedom, and the commission appointed by the Soviet Government to enforce compulsory labour, etc., observes:- People gifted with insight can see the double dealings of the Bolshevik leaders and the Soviet Government. The Bolshevik epidemics have begun to spread in India also. Only avaricious and foolish people allured by the desire for riches are entrapped in the deceitful snate.

Bolshevik bad faith. Some-thing which calls for the attention of Educational officers.

We are very apprehensive of the spread of this epidemic in Indian Schools and colleges. The educated and dishonest class of Bolsheviks, by means of their impressive lectures and speeches, will very soon gain over studsnts to their side, and those, whose brains have been imbued with such noxious ideas, are likely to spread the contagion among their associates, just as the rats spread the plague germs.

The writer invites the attention of able professors and directors of Public Instruction, and is of opinion that they should adopt suitable measures to prevent pupils from being influenced by these pernicent Bolshevik doctrines. If any evil should happen it will have a destructive effect on future generations.

It is time now for us to act promptly and energetically. It is incumbent on responsible educational officers that, in order to prevent the spread of Bolshevism, they should arrange, that in all schools there should be a lecture at least once in a week on the subject so as to give them an opportunity of listening Bolshevik atrocities, and obtain timely information of the beneficial results that are likely to accrue from the unanimous voice of the people of the country.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

19. The KERALA KESARI for Kanni and Thulam 1095 M.E. (September -- November 1919), has an article under the heading "Native States and Home Rule",

The C.I.D.

in which the writer who identifies himself with the extremists, observes that as soon as all Indiabs began to spell the MANTRAM of Home Rule (in which the writer) and to wrok for it, the CII.D. was sent against them like demons armed with mean weapons like the Press Act, the Arms Act, the Rowlatt Bill, the Indian Defence Act, etc. "On account of this class of ASURAS (demons) how many presses have been knocked to pieces," exclaims the writer, "how many newspaper representing public opinion have had to deposit securities of ten thousand and twenty thousands; how may editors have been sent to jail, how many young men in the bloom of their youth -- mostly students of college classes -- have been deported without trial and without just cause, how many leaders have been shamelessly forbidden to enter parts of their own motherland!"

(k) General.

29. Remarking that the system of levying export and import duties, that obtained till now in India, has benefited only the European Industries and trade and that the representations made by the Indian Leaders about this

The reforms and Indian trade.

fact from time to time have proved useless, the VARTAKAMITRAN of the 8th Febraury, refers to the provision in the reforms that the Secretary of State for India should not interfere in this matter, unless there is a difference of opinion between the Government of India and the Indian Legislative Council and says:- This would mean that the Indian Legislative Council is different from the Government of India. How can the administration of this country be beneficial to it, unless it is

insisted that it should be carried on in accordance with the opinion of the Indian Legislative Council? Under the old system, the Secretary of State was interfering even when the Government of India and the Legislative Council waere agreed on any point. Though we are glad that this has now been prevented indirectly much of advantage cannot result unless there is a specific provision that he should not interfere in such cases. As the elected members in the majority in the Legislative Council, they will always be prepared to do anything beneficial to the Indians. But the Government of India will not surely take any step which may prejudice the trade and industries of England. There is again a provision that the Secretary of State can intervene, if the Indian Legislative Council interferes in any matter which is against the terms of a treaty already entered into by the British with foreign countries. Thus, if Indian trade is likely to be endangered by a treaty concluded by the British in the interests of England, India will not be in a position to do anything. Further, the Indians are not on the same footing as the colonials. If it is decided that as, the colonies form part of the British kingdom, they should be given larger privilegs, can the Indians demur to it? So the position of India, not enjoying an equal status in the British Empire, comprising several countries exercising the right of self-determination, can never bebeneficial to her. Therefore, as long as India does not acquire complete liberty like the colonies, there is no likelihood of her trade being improved.

31. In deploring the absence of union among the Indians, now, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 8th Febraury, wants the people to note the fact that the European Merchants, who were against the grant of reforms to Indians on the ground that it would affect their large capital, have started numerous

Union among Indians.

anormous capital within the last two or three months, and avoid quarrelling with each other, as there are many things they have to attend to.

The authorities and the people.

33. Reiterating the view that some officials do not seem to attach any weight to the appeal of His Majesty in the Royal Proclamation, that all past bitterness between the rulers and the ruled should be forgotten and that both should co-operate hereafter, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 12th Febraury, refers to the remark of Sir John Lowndes that the observations of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya regarding the emigration of Indians to British Guiana are objectionable and adds:- The Viceroy has realised his position and agreed to co-operate with the popular representatives. But those surrounding him do not appear to share this feeling. No one can find any flaw in the observations of the Honourable Pandit. How then can it be justifiable for members of Government to insult representative esteemed by the people? Why did the Viceroy permit the remark of Sir George Lowndes? Is this the way of removing all bitterness?

The Punjab incident.

35. Referring to the publication in England of the report of the Punjab Government about the incidents in April last year, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 12th Febraury, remarks that it is not known what reply the authorities will give to the question that will surely be asked in the Legislative Counci as to why it was published in England before being published in India and, observing that its publication in England before that of the report of the Hunter Committee, adds that it is wrong on the part of the authorities to allow such an impression to be created.

Under this heading, a correspondent to the ANDHRA-

PRAKASIKA, of the 31st January, contributes a strong article to the paper, which contains statements to the following Effect:- The Kaiser's atrocities are directed against his enemies. Some ignorant folk incensed by the report of Mr. Gandhi's restraint broke loose into rioting. There was nothing strange in this when we see that the civilised Irish people were chafed into rioting by unjust laws. Even then, the culprits should have been brought to book. General Dyer ordered his men to fire on an innocent and unarmed crowd, and 500 were killed and 1,500 wounded, according to his own admission. Lord Durham, the good ruler of Canada, had to lay down his office for having transgressed law. It is then too much on the part of the Congress to have adopted a resolution demanding the removel from office of Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford and General Dyer? Only the Moderates, who, having got degress for winning their bread, have insinuated themselves into the good grades of editors and managed to become leaders, may not approve of this resolution. Similar firings was ordered against a crowd proceeding to ask for the release of their leaders Satyapal, etc., and upon a gathering of students, three of whom were shot down. Children and men were whipped and the crawling order passed. English papers such as the DAILY NEWS and the NATION and Indian papers observed that the people were insulted out of a vindictive spirit , and advocated the removal from office of Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford and General Dyer. The news of these disorders were not brought to his notice, says Mr. Montagu, till nine months after their perpetration. It must have ben been so long concealed in the womb of secrecy by the conspiracy of the three officers concerned, perhaps out of fear that the Reforms Bill might fail to be passed into law. When, every moment, cables were passing between Lord Chelmsford and himself, Mr. Montagu states that he only learned the news from its publication in the English newspapers. Can this be believed?

Not even a fool would believe it. So this news must have been known to Mr. Montagu also. Mr. Montagu asks us to suspend our judgment till the report of the Hunter Committee is published. The impartiality of the Hunter Committee is well-known. People are already of opinion that their report will be whitewashing of the case. Will not General Dyer's admissions themselves do? They have startled the English people. What a gulf is there between the statement of Mr. Balfour and Lord Rosebury in the Labour Leader that Government is based on justice and the Amritsar Acts? It looks from Mr. Montagu's reply as as if he too approves of General Dyer's Acts. It will be plain from the eagerness with which the Government rushed the indemnity Bill through, that all have conspired in the perpetration of this horrible act, and its concealment from the notice of the English people. We do not want that the offenders should be punished. We only desire that the authors of these cruel acts may be published to the world. Some English papers refer to the 'Black Hole' in connexion with the Amritsar riots. Those that read Indian history by Indian authors do not believe the story.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th Febraury, concludes a note about the notice given to Srimati Sarala Devi Chowdhu Rani to resign her membership of the Lahore Ladies' Club with the remark:- To what distress Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lady O'Dwyer have subjected the Punjab, needs no separate mention.

The DESABHIMANI, of the 8th Febraury, gives in Tel gu the reasons assigned by Mr. B. Houghton for the English public havingbeen long kept in the dark about the news of the Punjab disorders by His Excellency the Viceroy.

39. In commenting upon the reforms, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 12th February, writes:--

The Indian reforms.

The reforms are intended to be the first step towards the grant of Home Rule to India and so we can say that the time is fast approaching when

the long repeated prayer of India, that she should be ruled for and by the Indians, will be granted. These reforms have belied the words of the Anglo-Indians, which they are still repeating that the grant of liberty to the Indians will have serious consequences, as has been proved by the Punjab incident and that the Indians should therefore be ruled only by the British officials. It is on account of the devices of the Anglo-Indians, that, in spite of having been subject to the British rule for 150 years, India has had to lose her strength, wealth and glory. If she had been a free country like British Colonies, the European war would never have broken out, and no country in the world would have dreamt of injuring the British Empire. When she becomes a self-governing country subject to the British Empire she will be a strong support to the Empire itself and help to establish peace in the world. But even after the introduction of reforms, laws like the Press Act, affecting the loyalty of the Indians, remain unrepealed. Peace can be established in the world only when all laws likely to affect the rights of the people therein are done away with.

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The plight of a political Prisoner.

47. Referring to the fact of one Bijo Chandar Chakravarti, one of the five who were confined in the Alipore Jail under Regulation III of 1918, not having been released as a result of the Royal Proclamation while the others were, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th Febraury, described how he has an old father, aged 60, living on a scanty income on whom he has to rely for his support also and how the prayer of his wife of this prisoner? Would the heavens have come down if she had been permitted to see her husband? What would the public think, if one is imprisoned without any reason, nor money paid to him or for his family for purposes of living and even his wife is not permitted to see him? Is this the way of complying with the request of His Majesty that all bitterness between the rulers and the ruled should disappear?

(way of complying with the request)

49. Remarking that, though there is a general rule that the Government servants should not take part in politics, almost all the Provincial heads in India now openly side the Moderates, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 13th Febraury, says:- We need not complain of Lord Willingdon; for he is only acting according to his words, uttered even before he took up the governorship of this Province. The Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces recently spoke in support of the Moderates and Lord Ronaldshay in Bengal has expressed himself very severely and has, in effect declared that the Congressmen do not co-operate. We need not say anything about Lord Chelmsford. It is known to our readers that the Europeans of the Indian Civil Service took part in Political movements. We believe that a rule framed by Government applies to all. Perhaps there is a special rule for European officials.

Officials and Politics.

50. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 13th Febraruy, publishes the substance of a lecture said to have been delivered at Madura on the 10th Febraury, by Mr. Satyamurti on the Khalifate Problem, in which he dwells upon the necessity of the Hindu co-operating with the Muhammadans in the agitation about this question and narrates in detail what the ideals of the Nationalists are. The following two general observations find place in the lecture:- Though the Muhammadans invaded India in the beginning, they unlike the Englishmen, settled in this country and conducted the administration impartially, without making any difference between the Hindus and the Muhammadans .. .. .. India was created by God to be ruled by Indians and not by foreigners.

Mr. Satyamurti at Madura.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th Febraury, publishes, a lecture said to have been delivered on the 11th idem by Mr. Satyamurti at Solavandan in the Madura district,

Mr. Satyamurti at Solavandan.

in which he makes the following observations among others: The thought of the Pubjab incidents will make the blood of ay any Indian boil and hence it was that the Congress resolved that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Dyer should be recalled at once and punished after an inquiry, and that Lord Chelmsford too should be recalled as he had lost the esteem and confidence of Indians. The Moderates, who are having hot tea with these gentlemen, opposed the resolutions. As a king or his representative, should have the capacity of pleasing all people and Lord Chelmsford lacks this, we say that he is not fit for the post of Viceroy. .. .. .. This is our country and so it is we that are fit to govern it. Further, India was being administered well and was in an opulent condition before the advent of the Englishmen. .. .. .. Though the English have governed India for the last 150 years, they have not been able to relieve the poverty of the people. So we ask them to stand aloof a little. Diseases are claiming numerous victims here. No means have been provided in the Reforms Act to alter this state of affairs. They are spending only meagre amounts on education and sanitation. But we will spend more if we had the right of controlling the income and expenditure. There is a difference in the way in which we and the Europeans are treated in our country. We, born in this land, are deemed to be inferior to them. If we go to foreign countries, we, who taught civilisation to the Europeans, are considered to be uncivilised.

51. The DESABHIMANI, of the 8th February, asks:- Does not the Royal Proclamation apply to England? If it does, why has Mr. Lajpat Rai "who is worthy of praise of all" been muzzled, and why was a passport refused for Mr. Horniman, the fried of the unfortunate persons fighting for freedom? It is easy to say but difficult to act. Perhaps the hearts of officials have not yet become clear.

Mr. Lajpat Rai and Mr. Horniman.

In appealing to the people to extend a hearty welcome to Lala Lajpat Rai, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th Febraury, remarks that the life INCOGNITO which the Lala had to lead in America for the last five years as a result of the high-handed action of the Government has resulted in much benefit to India, inasmuch as his efforts there have led to the Government and the people of America sympathising with India.

The SAMPADABHYUDAYA, of the 14th Febraury, writes:- The deportation of Mr. Horniman is considered to be of the same level of highhandedness as the behaviour of the authorities in connexion with the Punjab disturbances. The order against Mr. Horniman has not been withdrawn as yet, though the offenders and deportees in India have been released. The Press is very emphatic in its protest against this attitude of the authorities. Those among the authorities who are not autocratic have nothing to fear from Mr. Horniman's return to India. Those who are, will better respect the constitutional rights of the people The Government will only be gainers thereby and not losers. We hope that the Government of India and the Secretary of State will consider this matter and escape the obliquy to which they are now open.

52. Reiterating the complaint that the Government of India have extended the clemency shown in the Royal Proclamation only to a favoured few and that they have not yet afforded relief to many deserving persons like Varindrakumar

Political Prisoners and the Royal Proclamation.

Ghose, the Savarkar Brothers and Bai Paramanda, the DESA-BHAKTAN, of the 14th Febraury, observes again, that though the King Emperor has directed the release of all political Prisoners, the minor official dieties in India have not fulfilled His expectations completely and, welcoming the resolution to be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel at the next meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on this point, hopes that those, who are suffering in the Andamans and elsewhere only as a result of their patriotism, will obtain relief at least as a sequel to this resolution, and lays stress upon the necessity of all people in the country striving for securing liberty to the patriots, that come forward to serve the country, whether their methods were right or wrong.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

55. Referring to the reply to Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the leader that appeared in the LONDON TIMES condemning his action as well as those of General Dyer, the DESA-BHAKTAN, of the 16th Febraury, condemns General Dyer, in its turn in scathing terms and observes:- In his communication to the TIMES which displays his ignorance, Sir Michael O'Dwyer says that he never sent any message to General Dyer approving his actions, as alleged by the latter before the Hunter Committee, but signified his(actions, as alleged) approval only to Sir William Painan. This raises the question as to who sent the message to General Dyer. Did Sir William Painan give it in the name of the Lieuetenant-Governor? However this may be, Sir Michael did acquiesce in the actions of General Dyer. In the last portion of his letter, Sir Michael takes exception to some newspapers in India and England finding fault with the British Officials in India. He is not justfied here, as the officials in India re "Public Servants" and, as such, the public have a right to condemn their mistakes. Whatever arguments he may adduce, there is

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no gainsaying the fact that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford were responsible for the Punjab incidents and they should therefore be punished. Sir Michael has vacated his office; but Lord Chelmsford continues in it still. When will the latter go and when will the resolution of the Congress about him be carried out?

The SWADESAMITRAN of the 17th Febraury, quotes an extract from the reply of the LONDON TIMES TO THE letter of Sir Michael O'Dwyer referred to above and remarks:- This reply infuses a news spirit into us and makes us believe that the British Public will no longer permit the delinquents in the Amritsar trouble to go unpunished, whatever status they may occupy. The attempts made by Lord Chelmsford to prevent the disclosure of details have failed. No one will hereafter lend ear to the glib words of Mr. Montagu in this respect. We hope the LONDON TIMES will not forsake the cause of the Indians when the report of the Hunter Committee and the memorandum of the Congress sub-Committee are published. We expect that such steps will be taken as will infuse into the Indians confidence in the British sense of justice.

Adverting to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's evidence before the Joint Committee on Indian Reforms, the KERALA KESARI for Kanni and Thulam 1095 M.E. (September -- November 1919) observes:- "These monsters give out such valueless opinions because they are afraid that if responsible Government be established in India there will be no furhter scope for their cruelties and perversities."

Referring to the evidence of Sir J.P.Hewett, the article goes on to say that it will be a good service (to India) not to select such men and make them pass examinations and fatten them on India's money and send them out to trouble India and to abuse the Indians.

58. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th Febraury, reproduces the substance of a lecture recently delivered by Mr. Krishna swami Sarma at Tiruppur on this subject, in the course of

The Present condition in India.

which he quoted figures to prove that India is behind other countries in the matter of expenditure incurred for education and sanitation, and that her commercial condition is very low, while she pays more by way of taxes than any other country and pointing out that an enormous expenditure is incurred from the Indian revenues for maintaining the army and paying the European officials and Christian Missionaries, remarks that the only panacea for all these evils is the acquisition of Home Rule.

61. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 13th Fberaury, gives in Telugu the article contributed by Mr.

The results of repression and English papers.

B.Houghton to the NEW STATESMAN containing the following among other observations:- .. .. .. To assaign Bolshevism as a cause for the Punjab disturbances, shows the foolishness of the Anglo-Indians. Bolshevism is to be seen only in the methods adopted by the authorities to put down disorder.... If the bureaucracy at Simla cannot see the new awakening, it may be seen that they have outlived their purpose.

63. Reviewing in its leader under this heading the recent work of Mr. B.C. Pal published under this title, the

The world's situation and our duty.

ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 14th Febraury, writes:- Mr. Pal gives a vivid picture of the world's situation. He does not see the seed of lasting peace in the recent peace treaty. No union has yet been cemented among the allied states. America has not yet subscribed to the terms of the treaty. Nothing is known of Turkey's future. Bolshevism is raging in Russia

and is setting about a reconstruction. Throughout the whole of Europe incessant fight is going on between the labourers and the Capitalists. Strikes have been keeping up agi-tation. The war is past, but no peace has been established. The minds of the people in India are also agitated by the Khalifate question and the Punjab disorders. Mr. Pal asked:- "where is peace in the midst of these conditions?" ...... Mr. Pal views Bolshevism as a philosopher, and his views is condemned by the Anglo-Indian Press in India, and also the LONDON TIMES. Mr. Pal accounts for the rise of Bolshevism with reference to the conditions prevailing all round. France gave the message of "liberty, equality and fraternity." The middle classes received the message and wrested their rights from the kings and nobles. The proletariat has continued in its depressed condition. After the setting of Prussian militarism and Russian despotism, the Proletariat are striving to free themselves from the clutches of the capitalists. These efforts, say Mr. Pal have assumed the form of Bolshevism. It is said that this appears in a manifesto published by some world's leaders, to which Mr. Rabindranath has also subscribed. Mr. Pal have referred only to the root principles imbedded in Bolshevism and should not, on that account, be supposed to be justifying the atrocities perpetrated by the Bolshevists Radical ideas and movements lead to revolutionary acts. He has only taken a broad view of Bolshevism, and thinks that tthis view prevails in England. Ten years ago the labourers aspired only for higher wages. .. .. .. They now strive to take part in administration along with their masters. .. .. .. English merchants who have made money during the war shrink from investing it in England. India devoid of economic and political freedom offers them a more profitable field, and they have been starting many new industries in India. The future of

India may become gloomy on account of this. To safeguard the well-being of their country, the Indians should say, Mr. Pal, join hands with the English Labour party, to win whose good will the condition of the Indian workmen must be ameliorated. This will incense not only the English merchants, but also the Indian mill-owners. .. .. .. Our social condition is becoming chaotic on account of western industrial methods. The old caste rests on differences of intellect and the new one on those of wealth. All are forced to become slaves of wealth. Western civilisation is occupied with the multiplication of wants to which there is no end. The Eastern seeks to confine them within limits. Both have now come into conflict, in which the latter is going to the wall. India is drifting along the flood of western industrialism, when the west is seeking to get out of its old ways, why should India, asks Mr. Pal, seek to imitate the western methods? Mr. Pal exhorts the rulers and the ruled in India to shape the industrial development of India on a full consideration of the world's situation, and there is no advantage to be gained by blindly throwing out Mr. Pal's advice.......

68. The ARYAVYSYA, of the 1st January (received on the 29th), writes under this heading:- The acts of the Martial Government call to our mind the German massacre in Belgium. General Dyer must be recalled and punished. If the British do not condemn General Dyer, the whole world condemns.

The Punjab Punishments.

69. Referring to the Report in the TRIBUNE to the effect that funds are going to be raised for erecting a memorial for Sir Michail O'Dwyer and that officials are inclined to compel people to subscribe funds against their

An unhappy scheme.

will, the ANDHRAPATRIKA (weekly) of the 11th Febraury, writes to the follwing effect under this heading:- If this be a fact, there can be no false step more provoking to the people than this..... The King-Emperor's conciliatory proclamation is the best means calculated to pacify the unrest engendered by the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, which has tarnished the British name for justice by its despotic character. Even this takes time to prove effective and the unhappy scheme above referred to cannot help on that end. By his harsh administration, Sir Michael has established an unpleasant memory of himself lasting unto future generations, without the need of any memorial. .. .. .. Sir Edward Maclegan will, we hope dispel the doubts of the people by publishing that, within his knowledge, neither the authorities nor the people have had anything to do with this thoughtless act which is calculated to incense the people of Punjab who are groaning under the weight of grief.

70. In an article under this heading, a correspondent to DESABHIMANI, of the 8th Febraury, writes, to this effect;-

The non-Brahman Problem.

The plan adopted by His Excellency the Governor of Madras without consulting the Public opinion in this matter, is not satisfactory. It has led to the reference of the matter to an arbitrator appointed by the Government of India. We gegret the drifting of things to this state, and exhort the people to hold meetings, arrive at a settlement and communicate it to the Government of India, asking them to suspend the decision of the arbitrator pending such a settlement.

The National Congress and the Reforms.

77. In its leader under this heading, ANDHRAVANI, of the 7th Febraury, writes:- When England goes to the Peace Congerence do not the other Powers ask her, "How at a time when the principle of self-determination resounds in the air, can you go to the Conference, keeping 330 millions of slaves under you?" The reforms have been granted to us in view of such questions and not in response to our efforts. The Central Government have absolute power as before. Self-determination which has been extended to Poland, Arabia, Armenia, etc., is denied to India. The Joint Committee themselves admit that no self-determination has been allowed to India and no self-government, even in the provinces. It is strange that under these circumstances the Moderates should think that the reforms constitute a step for self-government and condemn the resolution of the Congress declaring the reforms unsatisfactory, incomplete and disappointing.

Conversation with Mohamed Ali.

79. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 12th Febraury, gives in Telugu(what the INDIA says about Mr. Montagu's letter to Mr. H) the conversation that took place between Mohomed Ali and a correspondent of the NEW TIMES which contains the following statements of Mohomed Ali:- All religious Mahomedans are of opinion that the protection of the Khilafat should not be entrusted to other hands. The Sacred places have a long been in the hands of the Khaliffs. There can be no peace among the Mahomedans if, as before, this power is not retained in the hands of the Khaliffs.

~~81. In an article under this heading, the Andhrapatrika~~

81. The SWADESABHIMANI, of the 13th Febraury, welcomes the order of the Madras Government in regard to the refunding of the securities levied under the Press Act on newspapers and printing presses, and remarks:- When even so pre-eminent a bureaucrat as Sir Reginald Craddock has shown, at this auspicious time, great generosity by recalling all offenders and by removing the restrictions on newspapers in Burma, it is no wonder the Lord Willingdon, who is naturally of a highminded nature, has made use of the opportunity afforded by the Royal amnesty for the cancellation of the order regarding securities.

Securities under the Press Act.

88. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 9th Febraury, concurring in the Fatwah given by the Shaik-ul-Islam of Constantinople, and the Chief Judge of Cairo warning Mussalmans against co-operating with the barbarous Bolsheviks, expresses its as disapproval at the views of certain avaricious, envious and conceited political leaders that, unless Muhammadans side with the Red peril, they cannot change their condition or obtain their legitimate demands without Bolshevik aid, and remarks that Muhammadans are not so wanting in understanding as to create feelings of hatred and enmity between the Government and themselves, and thereby embarrass themselves and bring disgrace upon Islam.

The faith of Islam and Bolshevism.

90. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 12th Febraury, has an article on themarginally-noted subject in which the writer says that the Turkish question has has awakened Mussalmans and that Bolshevism is trying to make Islam its ally. Here he quotes again Mr. Churchill "If Bolshevism and Turkish Islamism combine, the danger will be increased," The DAILY CHRONICLE, and His Excellency the Viceroy, and adds:- At

The awakening of Mussalmans.

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the present time we should not ignore the Bolshevik danger. It is our duty to defend our country; because the power of the Government is transient and the question of the freedom of our country but a matter of a few years.

It is not in the power of India to Keep Islam and Bolshevism apart, but it largely depends on England. If Justice be done to Turkey and the Khalifate, and the Holy places be restored to their former position, there will be no necessity for Islam to weep and side with the Bolshevists.

92. While appreciating the action of the Provincial Governments in trying to remove the restrictions imposed on the newspapers under

The Press Act.

Press Act, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th Febraury, raised the question as to why the Government cannot repeal the Press Act altogether, seeing that they have now come to have confidence in the good sense of the newspapers and do not therefore think it necessary to ~~leave~~ have a control over them, and observes:- Numerous are the restrictions to which the newspapers are subjected by the Press Act, which has caused immense provocation to the public and reducing the mutual confidence between the rulers and the ruled, created a misunderstanding between them. The constant interference of the Magistrates and the Police with the newspapers under this Act has enhanced the very evil to suppress which the Act was introduced. So there is no doubt that the most desirable course is to do away with the Act. Until the fundamental right of the newspapers freely expressing public opinion is firmly established, public peace cannot be restored. If it is true that the Government have now come to have confidence in the newspapers, in view of the new responsibility in the Government which the Reforms Act imposes upon the public, there need be no objection hereafter to repeal the Press Act . Further, the constitution of the publicity Board dispenses with all necessity for

the continuance of this Act. Considering the object with which the Government of India introduced the Press Act in 1910 and the way in which it was applied subsequently, it will be clear that the public have good reasons to be disgusted with the Act. Though the Government of India originally intended, in view of the disturbed condition of the country at that time, to take securities from all papers and keep them under control without the intervention of Courts of Law, Lord Morley would not consent to such an easy deprivation of a fundamental right and the members of the Legislative Council too were prepared to oppose it. Hence it was that it was stated that securities would not be taken from papers which were already in existence unless they committed any offence and that an appeal would lie to a Court of Law if the Security of a paper were forfeited. All the same, securities were demanded from many old papers within three months of the passing of the Act and also whenever permission was applied for to publish a paper, either on account of the change of the Press or for any other reason. It is only then that every one understood that the assurances given by the Government at the time the Act was passed were not embodied in it. In spite of frequent communiques issued by the Government to Magistrates that they should not proceed against old papers unless these committed an offence, the executing officials continued to apply the act very rigorously in the case of the Indian papers. The assurance that justice can be obtained in the High Court in the case of forfeitures of security also proved to be a futile one. Considering all these things, it is clear that this Act serves an an instrument in the hands of the executive officials to suppress the Indian papers as they like. So, there is good reason for the people to agitate for the immediate repeal of this Act.

93. Referring to the Government of India order that University students should not discuss politics or attend political meetings, a note in the KERALA KESARI for Kanni and Thulam 1096 M.E. (September - November 1919) remarks, "We are no prepared to call such a law a law at all, because we think it is so mean and cruel. We emphatically declare that the Government of India should cancel it immediately."

Students and Politics.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

95. The MUSHIR-i-DAKHAN, of the 15th Febraury, criticising the views of the TIMES OF INDIA in which it writes that the problem of the restoration of Berar is out of question and those who wish to revive the discussion will derive nothing but disappointment, remarks:- The sentiments and views, which the TIMES OF INDIA has expressed in its short note, do not disclose any new matter. It is the particular feature of that class of people under which it is classified to check all movements started for the benefit of Indians.

The TIMES OF INDIA's evil eye with regard to the desire for the rendition of Berar.

These gentlemen, who have vowed to thwart the desires of Indians, may understand that English Statesmen, politicians, noblemen, and even His Majesty the King-Emperor are prepared and have issued orders to that effect, dated 23rd December 1919, to give practical proof of the appreciation of the service rendered by Indians to the British Government during the war.

We firmly believe that those who have the power to restore Berar are not so shortsighted and narrow-minded as the TIMES OF INDIA and its colleagues. At present the desire for the rendition of Berar is not expressed as a matter of right, but a request is made for its restoration in return for the services and the monitary aid rendered by the Hyderabad State and its ruler.

It would be notble act to grant a reward to deserving per

persons according to his deserts in return for his loyal services, and as Indians do not entertain the least doubt regarding the magnanimity of the British Crown, their request for the restoration of Berar is not made as a matter of right but as a reward for something done, and they fervently hope that their request will be granted.

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For the week ending 28th Febraury 1920.

No.9 of 1920.

VERNACULAR PAPERS

I.FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in South Africa.

2. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th Februaury, writes:- The report of the committee originally appointed to inquire about the grievances of the Indians in South Africa created new difficulties for them by making a suggestion which affected their rights of property and, as the law passed to carry out this suggestion raised an oppostion a commission has now been appointed, with four members, including the president. Mr. Ismail Khora, a leading merchant in Natal, quotes instances to prove that, excepting the president, who may be an impartial man, the other three members have all been harbouring a long standing hatred against the Indians and it is these that are expected to do justice to the Indians! Let us pray that no new mischief is created by the recommendations of this commission.

The KANTHIRAVA, of the 17th February, complaining of the disabilities of Indian settlers in South Africa, observes:- The attitude of the Europeans in Africa seems to be that by force or misdeeds that Indians should be provoked to fight and by boycott, externments, by depriving them of their civil and political rights by boycotting every European

who sympathises with the Indians, by all these means, the Indians should be driven out of that place. Though the Europeans in this country object to the swadeshi movement, the Europeans there have to resort to the same movement for boycotting the Indians and their goods and the Mayor there advises them to "fight hand in hand to the very end" -- a direct suggestion to begin fighting. The Indians should in future live there as worse than the aboriginies. The attempts of the Government here to encourage the progress of the depressed classes are perhaps not applicable elsewhere. If the Indian there lives the life of a dumb person, he does so of his own accord. This is in truth the condition of the Indians in South Africa. This is the final means which the white people there have found for safeguarding their white rights. The other races should not share those rights and claim equality. In that case we would suggest a simple device. Let the white people try it if they like! Under the present system the ousting of Indians is a costly business. Why should they unnecessarily waste money? Why should they not oust the Indians all at once by using machine guns and aeroplanes? When the purse of the white people has fattened on the sweat and blood of the Indian labourers, why should they not boldly exterminate the Indians whom they regard as formidable rivals who are speedily progressing? In the meantime the Government of India seem to have begun a slight grumbling. So long as there is no difference between the views of the Mayor, the chairman and the other Europeans of that place, of what avail is that cry in the wilderness? Oh Smuts! Will you at least act up to your words?

3. Indians in other countries.

Remarking that it is an accepted doctrine in the world that the land which is reclaimed by a man for the first time belongs to him, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 15th Febraury, writes:- The Indians migrated to Ceylon 2,500 years ago and, reclaiming the land there, settled therein

and there is historical evidence to prove this. The European merchants began to settle in the place only after it came under the British rule and they have all along been working with the sole aim of making money and enriching their own country. With the help of their influence with the Government they whirl round their mercantile machinery, which succeeds in bringing into their hands gradually all the industries and privileges. After some time, they begin to get disgusted with the Indians and devise means to drive them away! As an instance of this may be quoted the way in which the Indians ~~them~~ are treated in South Africa and East Africa, as also in other places like Canada and Fiji.

Observing that it is because the East India Company ruined the Indian industries, which policy is still being followed by Anglo-Indian merchants, that India lost her past glory and became reduced to such a condition as to be looked down upon by the world and that Indians have to proceed to foreign countries for purposes of living, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 19th Febrauny refers to the attempts being made by the deputation from British Guiana to take Indians there and remarks:- The condition of the Indians in Fiji and South America makes it clear that they lose all honour and lead ignominious lives in foreign countries. It is a notorious fact that the Indians are treated very badly in countries subject to the(~~notorious fact that the Indian(subject) are treated)~~ British Empire and the Imperial Government appear to be indifferent to the lot of these British ~~Indian~~ Indian subjects. Under these circumstances, it will be highly blameworthy on the part of the leaders here to permit Indians being taken to British Guiana, especially when a great agitation is being carried on for improving Indian industries. No son of Bharata, who has realised the despicable position of this brethren and sisters in the British Colonies, will be prepared to send any from here to foreign countries.

9. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 20th Febraury, writes ~~xxxxx~~:-

The South Africa Inquiry ~~Thexrepresentationxofxwister.~~ commission.

This commission will meet in the middle of May to consider about the land-owning and commercial rights of the Asiatics. This has been started on account of the violation of the rights of the Indians. We do not know how arose the need for considering the rights of the Asiatics, (~~This has been started on ac~~) in general, instead of those of the Indians whose rights are at present particularly affected. The Indians belong to the Empire and have the rights of British citizenship, which it is advantageous to determine at the present juncture. To legislate for the Indians along with the Asiatics in general, instead of doing this, is unjust. Where, then, is the sympathy for the British Empire, in the matter of British citizenship (of the Indians in South Africa) of the South Africans, who claim it in the matter of commece? Perhaps some are to enjoy the advantages of the British Empire, while others are to suffer all the disadvantages.

10. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 21st Febraury, writes:- A message says that the Sultan will be

The Turkish Problem.

in Constantinople, but that Dardanelles will be in the hands of others. The LONDON TIMES states that the Turks will have a large territory in Asia Minor, but that they cannot have Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia. This news cannot but cause much anguish to the Muhammadans. These countries contain the sacred places of the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans will not consent to have them placed under the administration of those who are not Muhammadans. The Peace Conference that is meeting now at London have not taken a far-reaching view of the matter .. .. .. A satisfactory solution of the Turkish Problem would act as a barrier against the spread of Bolshevism. The people of the west will do well to respect Muhammadan feeling, if only to preserve their own interests.

11. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 23rd Febraury, writes:- The deputation of the Bishop of the Polynesia has arrived in this country to secure more Indian labourers to the Fiji Islands. A message states that the Indian labourers in the Fiji Islands have gone on strike, that many have been arrested, and some have been shot. They would not have gone on strike if there had been no reason. They must have been suffering from unbearable hardships. It will be treachery to the country to send our people to that place while we hear such a story.

The Fiji Islands and the Indians.

12. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 15th Febraruy, in traversing the oft-repeated observations of the Anglo-Indian press on the Khalifate question, expresses its extreme regret and dissatisfaction and remarks that it is not possible for Muhammadans to shape their religion according to European Logic.

The Khalifate and the Anglo-Indian press.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION

(k) General.

27. Referring to the reply given to an interpellation at the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, that General Dyer has not been promoted after the Amritsar incidents and that it would be no advantage to the public to know what all places he served after these incidents, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th Febraury, remarks:- What harm would result if the public are informed of the places in which General Dyer served? The Government of India should first know what idea the people have of this genera. We anxiously await the fate of the resolution to be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Chanda that this Genreral should be removed from his office.

General Dyer.

The report of the Hunter Committee.

28. Remarking that it has become usual with the British Government to appoint a committee the moment the public mind gets excited over any question and try thereby to suppress the excitement, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th February, writes:- All the commissions appointed by the Government, not on their own initiative but to appease the people, have usually served only to offer temporary consolation to the people. Past experience also shows that India has not derived any benefit from such commissions proportionate to the large expenditure incurred thereon. So when we learnt that a committee was to be appointed to inquire about the Punjab incidents, we never expected that it would find out the truth and do justice, or that relief would be obtained for the insult offered. If the members of this committee, which was appointed to pronounce upon the propriety or otherwise of the action taken by the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab, had been persons holding high position unconnected with both these Governments, we can believe that the object of this committee is to find out the truth. But the moment one of the Secretaries to the Government of India was appointed a member of it, we came to the conlusion that its object was only to appease the people FOR THE NONCE and the information said to have been sent to the LONDON TIMES by a Bombay Correspondent on the 18th ultimo, that the report of the committee, while admitting the seriousness of the situation in the Punjab and the necessity for the introduction of Martial Law, would strongly condemn the action of individual officers who exercised it, only confirms our view. Though the Indians do not expect any special remedy from the report of this committee, they are eagerly awaiting it. It is said that it will take two months more for the Indians to have it, though the substance of the report has reached England already. The Government version about the Punjab incidents was published some days back in England and the information conveyed to the LONDON TIMES has reached there

subsequently. Thus, if the report of the Hunter Committee is published after preparing the way therefor, the Government party would gain strength. And again when the committee supports the Government and condemns some officials, it will give a handle to plead that the report is an impartial one. As these officals have already been protected by the Indemnity Act they would not suffer by the condemnation of the Committee while the British public and newspapers, that got excited on learning of the atrocities in the Punjab, would be satisfied. Perhaps this is the idea of the authorities. But, as fortunately, the Report of the Committee does not seem to have been completed yet, we would put the members in mind of certain facts. The horrowing incidents in the Punjab occurred before the introduction of Martial Law. Considering the new details furnished to (the Press by Doctor Satyapal, it is clear that the Hunter Committee has not ascertained all that occurred. We understand that many facts, of which we were not aware till now have been brought to light in the inquiry of the Congress Sub-committee. Considering the fact of the Hunter Committee having declined to afford facilities during the inquiry for the full truth being ascertained and the general trend of this report, as we guess it through the LONDON TIMES, the committee seems to have been appointed only to appease the British public and not to afford relief to the Indians. If it is true that the British Papers and Public are anxious that the good name of the British administration should not be spoiled, we hope they will not allow themselves to be duped in the matter of the report of this committee./

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 20th Febraury, refers to the statement of Sir William Vincent at the January meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, that the report of this Committee will be published by the end of Febraury or the beginning of March and that of the same gentleman at the present meeting, that it will not be out till the end of March, and observes:- We cannot excuse the actions of the Government of

~~India~~ India and any one having a regard for British principles will surely get disgusted with them. It will not do credit to the Position of Sir William Vincent that he should be thus indifferent about the Punjab incidents, which have touched the heart of the Indians. Is the delay in the publication of the report due to the Hunter Committee or the Government of India? Why should the latter, who published the report of the Rowlatt Committee in haste and gave effect to its recommendations, working through nights, make a delay in the case of that of the Hunter Committee? Perhaps they are hesitating on account of the anxiety of the Indians to see this report. If it is published at the end of March, the Indian Legislative Council cannot discuss it until the next meeting in September. The recommendations of the committee, if any, may be given effect to before that. Of what avail will the report of this committee be then to the Indians?

31. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th Febraury, writes:- Some Proposals made for giving effect to the reforms made one doubt whether the reforms that are now introduced are really progressive or retrograde in Character. In the face of the principle, that the number of Indians in the higher services should be gradually increased, proposals are made in such a manner as to increase the number of appointments, available for the members of the civil service. For example, though there should be only one Indian and one European member on the Provincial executive Councils after the introduction of diarchy, it appears there is a proposal to have four executive Councillors, three Ministers and seven Secretaries in this Presidency. Apart from this, it is seen from the LONDON TIMES that there is a proposal again to choose even the one Indian member of the Executive Council from the members of the Civil Service ad and it appears this proposal will be agreed to by our Moderate friends. The opinion and influence of the Indians can prevail only if there is one non-official Indian and an official

The reforms.

European on the Executive Council and there are two Indian Ministers also. If, instead of this, the number of members in the Executive Council is unduly increased, our object will be frustrated. And again if the only Indian member on the Executive Council should belong to the Civil Service, will there be the advantage of having the opinion of a non-official Indian? Perhaps, it is because the Moderates agree to such proposals or they can be made to agree the to them, that the authorities have appointed Moderates alone in the Provincial Advisory Committee!

The JANARANJANA, of for January 1920, says:- The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to every branch of the Government service without reference to caste or creed. Since then, though the bureaucracy has not, in pursuance of that Act, associated the Indians, in a large measure with the administration of the country, out of a selfish motive, it has not attempted to repeal the Act. The pledges in the Act have been reiterated in the years 1858, 1908, and 1911, but they have not been fulfilled. The present Act has provided for an increase in the salaries of the white men serving in our country and accorded them several other facilities. This may be a way of commanding the sympathy of the white officers, but the bonus granted to the Indians are not worth the name.

The National Anthem.

36. Generalising that the Indians have unconsciously imbibed foreign feelings and adopted foreign methods on account of their having been under foreign rule for several centuries, and remarking that this would injure them seriously, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 20th Febraury, refers to the band of in the presidency town s playing only English airs and, pointing out that it is possible to make them play Indian tunes observes:- This is India and not England, and it is meaningless

for the band here to play only English airs, when the members of the crops are all of them Indians. It is therefore just and necessary that the Government should allow Indian national sons to be set to tune in this band. There by they will also be encouraging the Indian varieties of music. All these are features pertinent to Home Rule.

The authorities and the Royal Proclamation.

37. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 20th Febraury, Characterises, as unjust and unstatesmanlike, the action of the Punjab Government, in having released many prisoners, sentenced under the Martial Law after taking a bond from them under the Criminal Procedure Code, in the face of the strict injunction in the Royal Proclamation that Political prisoners should, as far as possible, be released, and adds:- We have to suspect that the authorities in the Punjab have adopted this course and excluded prisoners under Martial Law from the list of Political prisoners so as to create an impression among the public that they have released the Martial Law prisoners of their accord. Not stopping with this, that Government seems to have refused to release those who were not willing to give the bond required of them. It may not appeal to some patriots that they should escape at least by giving a bond against their conscience. Is it fair to keep them in prison on that accord? According to the TRIBUNE two persons are still in prison like this. Their release will not surely subvert the British Empire. Why should the authorities be nervous then? The very procedure of taking a bond is a wrong one. We hope the Government of the Punjab will gain good sense at least hereafter and liberate these two prisoners unconditionally.

The same paper reverts to this subject in its issue of the 21st Febraury, and says:- The Hon'ble Mr. Patel is going to move a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council that the spirit of the Royal Proclamation should be given effect

to in its entirety. Though the Government may reply that it has been done, it will not be believed by the people. They will only think that the authorities have not attached any weight to the command of His Majesty. Will Lord Chelmsford accept the resolution and, acting upon it, prevent the formation of such an impression?

40. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 21st Febraury, writes:- It is hard for the Bolshevik movement to spread in India.

Bolshevism and India.

It may perhaps appear on account of the foolish action of the Government, but never on account of the acts of the Indians. When the bureaucrats begin to oppress the people by means of cruel laws, many such movements as the Bolshevik movement will crop up. It is despotism that led to the appearance of Bolshevism in Russia. It is natural for people suffering under a despotic rule to adopt several secret devices to get rid of such a rule and it is natural also for a benevolent rule being applauded by the people. So Bolshevism usually appears only in places where the Government is not responsible to the people. In reply to a question in the Imperial Legislative Council as to what measures the Government have adopted to prevent the spread of Bolshevism in India, it was stated that steps were being taken in that direction, the details of which were however secret. This reply cannot satisfy India. There is no country in the world which is as poor as India and this is due to the bureaucrats wasting Indian money in several items such as the army and the C.I.D. They incur unnecessary expenditure on committees and commissions. They have arranged to pay ten lakhs of rupees annually to Nepal for the services rendered by the Chief of the State during the War. Enormous expenditure was again incurred to prevent a Russian invasion. Spending money lavishly upon these items, the Government have been pleading want of funds

to improve education, sanitation, etc. Where they have not sufficient funds even for items like primary education, it is ~~res~~ unreasonable on their part to incur expenditure on other items. The public have a right to demand information about it and know the truth. The Government of India should give up the habit of wasting India's money, entertaining vain apprehensions. It is the duty of the Government to apprise the people of the harm that may result to India from the Bolshevik movement. Bolshevism may crop up in India by the administrative acts of persons of the type of Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The cruel deeds committed in the Punjab were about to introduce it. But the Royal Proclamation allyed the excitement of the Indians. If the miscreants that afflicted the Punjab are punished, as resolved by the Congress, and if the Patriots in the Andamans, Pondicherry, Europe and other places are released, India will be pacified and Bolshevism will not enter here. It is unwise to allow the country to be full of excitement and persist in adopting measure to prevent the spread of Bolshevism. The best way to prevent it in India is for the Government to give up their policy of 'divide and rule', appeal the existing cruel laws, conduct the administration in accordance with public opinion, without enacting new repressive laws and show by their action that they intend to grant Home Rule to India.

The same paper reverts to this subject elsewhere and, referring to the letters appearing in the LONDON TIMES dwelling upon the danger to India from Bolshevism and upon the necessity of Military arrangements being made on the frontier says:- The British Government should not listen to suggestion made by a few military experts, out of fear of some danger happening to India, that military massacre measures should be adopted. Such measures will mean an enormous expenditure and it is doubtful if the Imperial British Government will share it. It appears the poor Indians will be forced to

~~the poor Indians will be forced~~ to hear it. The Government should consider whether the Indians can undertake a heavy expenditure at this juncture.

Labour representation in the Councils.

44. While expressing its thanks to Lord Willingdon for having nominated a labour representative on the Madras Corporation, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd Febraury, observes that the status of the labourers would have been much raised, if they had been allowed to elect their own representative and urging that rules should be framed for such a course ~~fo~~ to be adopted at least in the case of the Legislative Councils, adds:- Though the number of labourers is larger in Bombay, Calcatta, and other places, they are not so organised in those presidencies as they are here. So it is a very easy thing to make them elect their own representatives in this Presidency.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd Febraury, refers to the resolution moved in the Imperial Legislative Council urging the appointment of a committee to inquire about the condition of the labourers and of a panchayat to settle the differences between the capitalists and labourers and observes:- This resolution did not receive the hearty support of many members. The majority of the members are either capitalists themselves or those that seek the favour of the capitalists. If there were representatives of the labourers on the council, they would expouse the cause of their constituents. Though 90 per cent. of the people in this ~~cotntry~~ country may be said to be labourers, there are no representatives to speak on their behalf in the Council. Of what avail can such a council ~~to~~ be to the country? We have no confidence that even the new reforms will safeguard the interests of the labourers. One or two seats, to be filled up by nomination may be allotted for the labourers, ~~there~~ in some presidencies. But if certain seats are reserved for them and they are given the franchise, they can return any representatives they like,. It is

only then that their interests will be attended to really by the council. 'We do not see why the Government, who have reserved seats for landholders, are not inclined to do the same for the labourers. The resolution referred to above was withdrawn for want of support.' The bigwigs now in the Legislative Council are full of political knowledge but have no idea whatever of the condition of labourers and this is regrettable. The country cannot be inclined benefited in any way by the council being filled with persons arrogant with wealthy, who have no sympathy at all for the labourers. We are surprised at the remark of Sir Thomas Holland in speaking on the aforesaid resolution, that an attempt should be made to afford facilities of house accommodation, education, etc., to the labourers. We do not deny this. We would say that the question of their sustenance should be considered even before these. Perhaps Sir Thomas thought that the labourers had as much to eat as himself! How can they care for house or education, when they are actually famishing? The Government should interfere immediately and try to raise the wages of the labourers. Commissions and committees will take a long time. So prompt steps should be taken by the Government to redress the grievances of the ~~people~~ labourers.

46. In a short note under this heading, the Desabhaktan of the 23rd Febraury refers to the offer of the Government to pay a compensation of Rs.50,000 to Miss Sherweed, on account of whom General Dyer ordered that people should crawl on the road, and noting with satisfaction the fact of her having refused it, saying that she would be satisifed if she were given the price of the wrist watch which she valued so most, observes:- We appreciate the magnanimity of the Government as well as that of Miss Sherwood. We wish to know what help was rendered by the Government -- Which granted a big sum as compensation to a European lady who was attacked by

Fifty Thousand Rupees!!!

ignorant people -- to the Indians that were shot down wantonly by intelligent Generals and to the women that had lost their husbands and other relations on this account. The Government stationed Punitive Police in places where there were disturbances and decided to collect a tax from all the Indian subjects in the disturbed area, for the purpose of repairing the loss of life and property (whose lives and whose Property?) that occurred during the disturbances. What benevolence and kindness! The Government are the true representatives of the masses! Will any one ask a question in the Indian Legislative Council as to what help was given by the Government to the poor Indian families that suffered during the period of disturbances?

The authorities and the Royal Proclamation.

48. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd Febraury, writes:- Though His Majesty directed the Viceroy to release as many political Prisoners as could be set free without prejudice to the public safety, it is the opinion of the people that many, who cannot endanger the public safety, are still suffering in prison. Under these circumstances, the only way open is to memorialise the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It is stated by the MAHRATTA that the Secretary of State has refused to receive a memorial, signed by thousands of persons and submitted by the Bombay National Union in this behalf. Courtesy requires that a memorial should be received and a reply given thereon. But it is a novel improvement perhaps to decline to receive a memorial altogether! Mr. Montagu condemned the bureaucrats unsparingly before he came to his present seat. But he seems to have imbibed bureaucratic principles, ever since he became the head of that class. Let us pray to God that the mind of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State should change.

50. Generalising that the responsibility of making the ruled praise or condemn a system of Government rests with the rulers themselves, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th Febraury, observes:- The system of preventing students from taking part in Politics and sowing the seeds of hatred and anarchism in their mind by inculcating to them a false idea of politics should ~~be~~ not be allowed in any civilised country. Such a system will, in our view, cut at the very root of the life of the world. Students in India are taught politics in the higher classes in the colleges and they develop a knowledge of the same by reading newspapers and hearing some patriots. This will enable them in their age to have the required knowledge and capacity to manage a family and conduct a government. It is this that does credit to British ~~Rule~~. G.O. No.559 passed by the bureaucratic deities, when the Home Rule agitation was at its highest pitch in 1916, deprived the students of the advantage of listening to political lectures. Some days ~~at~~ later the responsibility of enforcing this Government Order was transferred from the hands of the Government to those of the heads of colleges and it appears to be a dead letter ever since. It is unjust that, under the British rule, the bureaucrats should have bound even the students. They have spoiled the life of the students by their action. . . It is certain that SWARAJ cannot be obtained without sacrifice. ~~Thinkx~~ Sutdents! Mother Bharata should secure complete freedom by means of your sacrifice. Think of her poverty and fallen condition. It is only you that can give relief to her. Learn the art of sacrifice. Worship in your heart the embodiments of sacrifice, like Mr.Tilak, Mr.Gandhi, Lajpat Rai, Arabindo Ghosh and Muhammad Ali, and you will become like them. Do not have a mania for vain fuss and the English language. Go through the lecture delivered by Mr.Lala Lajpat Rai in Bombay, which breathes patriotism in every word of it, note his advice and resolve to act upon it.

Students and Politics.

51. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th Febraury, while condemning the characterisation, by Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar in a lecture of his at Delhi, of the Nationlists as Extremists, thinks

The moderates and the Government.

that his appeal to these Nationalists themselves to co-operate with the first ministers under the Reforms Act only strengthens the suspicion of the Nationalists that the Moderates are running after appointments and adds:- It is seen in practical experience that ever since Mr. Montagu sought the co-operation of the Moderates, all officials down to the Provincial Governors have been making much of them. The Viceroy and the Governors have nominated only the Moderates on the advisory committees to help in the framing of rules under the Reforms Act. As the Moderates have thus endeared themselves to the authorities and the power of appointing ministers is in the hands of the Governors they will surely power of appointing ministers is in the hands of the Governors they will surely try to chose only Moderates forthis post. But the Governor has only the power of appointment. The Legislative Council has in a way been given (a bold reply to the appeal) the power of supporting the Ministers and most of the seats in this council may be secured by the Nationalists. So we expect the people to give a bold reply to the appeal of Mr. Sastriyar that, in the interests of the country, the Nationalist representatives in the Legislative Council should support the Moderates, who have got into the good graces of the authorities and who created a schism in the Congress.

52. Remarking that the hanging of the four persons who were convicted in the Kadarpur riot case, will make the thirty crores of people in India bend their heads down with shame and sorrow, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th Febraury, writes:-

The accused in the Kadarpur riot Case.

It is strange that, in spite of the prayer of most of the people in India and all their representatives, that these four individuals, who ~~who~~ were sentenced to death for having acted highhandedly on account of a religious frenzy, should be allowed to li live, the authorities, from the Secretary of State downwards, should have decided that justice would be met only by their being hanged. We wish to have complete Home Rule only to avoid such thing hereafter. It is a pitiable condition indeed for the people of a country that the will of a few heartless officials should prevail against the wishes of crores of people.

The Imperial Legislative Council.

57. Reviewing, in its leader under this heading, the Proceedings of the recent session of the council, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 20th Febraruy, writes to the effect of the following-

(ii) With reference to the discussion on the principle of Imperial Preference:- A resolution was moved asking for the appointment of a sub-committee to consider and report about this. ~~If-~~ We cannot understand the need for the appointment of such a committee now. If the Imperial Council once announces its opinion, it will blind the reformed council. It is fair to leave the question to be settled by the reformed council. The Joint Committee have observed that nothing can straighten the relations subsisting between Great Britain and India, so much as the belief that the commercial policy of India will be guided by Great Britain from Whitehall so as to subserve her own commercial interests. The idea that, because Imperial Preference is adopted by Great Britain, India must adopt it, makes the commercial freedom above indicated by the Joint Committee a mirage. Imperial Preference, as previously admitted by Lord Curzon, is disadvantageous to India, for she will there by be deprived of her privilege of buying at the cheapest market and selling at the dearest, and will be heavily handicapped in

the commercial and industrial competition with Great Britain and the colonies. For her commercial and industrial development, India must have the right to impose protective tariffs. India will be deprived of what little commercial freedom the Joint Committee is willing to extend to her, if Imperial Preference is thrust upon her. Sir George Barnes cites Mr. Chitnavis in support of his resolution, but the views of Mr. Chitnavis are opposed to the popular view. It may be clearly said that there is no occasion at present for the popular view. It may be clearly said that there is no occasion at present for the resolution moved by Sir George Barnes. If the Economic condition of India should improve, she must be granted complete commercial freedom, which should be incorporated in an Act, or, she must be soon placed on an equal footing with the Colonies.

63. Reviewing in its leader under this heading the speech delivered by Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, in the Ghokale Hall, last Saturday, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 23rd Febraury, observes:-

Wind up the Liberal League.

Government by the people has not yet been established. Self-government cannot be had under the reforms. The influence of the people may increase. There will be friction with the bureaucracy till self-government is well established. There was no lack of persons who proclaimed that the need for political Congresses ceased with the introduction of the Minto Morley reforms. Their error was soon found out! It is a source of evil that some people in the country should again fall into a similar error, now. The use of the Congress cannot at all diminish so long as power does not completely pass into the hands of the people. Even after that, the Congress would be guiding the administration of India, as in America. It is highly inadvisable to entertain the short-sighted idea that salvation can be had by seceding from the Congress, and following the authorities. Mr. Srinivasa

Ayyangar warns the leaders against such a wrong notion...... and advises them to wind up the Liberal League and join the Congress. Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar deserves our thanks for this as well as for the advice he gives to the authorities asking them not to prepare Moderates, since 'Moderates so prepared' can be serviceable to the interests neither of the country nor of the authorities, for long.

Commercial Freedom.

64. Under this heading the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 23rd Febraury, writes:- There is no wonder in the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's resolution being thrown out. The discussion on the resolution serves to give us an idea of the nature of commercial freedom we are going to have. As Mr. Patel has observed, we cannot help doubting whether the Government of India will carry out the proposal of the Joint Committee. Even before the question of commercial freedom has been settled, the Government have appointed a committee to consider about Imperial Preference. What need is there to leave out the suggestion of the Joint Committee, and consider another matter? Is this not a proof that the commercial policy of India is being determined ~~by~~ from England? Even the suggestion of the Joint Committee is that commercial freedom is to be granted not the people of India, but to the Government of India. How can the wishes of the people(~~of India, but~~) be satisfied unless the Government of India is made responsible to the people? Should the question be not first determined, how far the Secretary of State for India may interfere with the arrangements of the Government of India?

The State Council.

74. In its leader under this heading the Kistnapatrika, of the 21st Febraury, writes to the effect:- In the original plan it had been arranged to make the official element preponderate

in the State Council, but the Parliament modified it, perhaps in partial response to the wish of the people to make the Central Government responsible. .. .. .. There is apparently some non-official preponderance in the State Council but in reality it is only nominal and in such as will in actual practice maintain official preponderance. It is, however, a settled fact and there is no use thinking over it. Rules have to be made about this and the Government of India have promulgated a scheme. There will be 2,000 voters in our presidency to elect 5 out of the 32 elected members of the State Council. NEW INDIA objects to the conservative character, and the smallness of the electorate, and proposes an increase in the strength of the electorate. We do not object to the conservative character of the electorate and chances of their returning conservative members to the State Council, since we are of opinion that in a council, whose work is corrective, there must be both conservatives and liberals. We are for an increase of the electorate to 5,000, by extending the franchise to ex-members of Legislative Councils, graduates of the 15 years' standing and such others. .. .. .. What we must object to is the interference of foreign members, and not that of the conservative element in the indigenous members. Even if the foreign element in the State Council preponderates at present, it may diminish in course of time, and make the council ultimately an entirely indigenous institution. We are not for the proposal of NEW INDIA to have the members of the State Council elected by those of the Legislative Council, instead of directly. This is a retrograde step tending to make the State Council, which is meant as a 'brake' to the Legislative Councils, but a miniature Legislative Council, and defeating its fundamental purpose.

80. A correspondent in the KANTHIRAMA, of the 17th Febraury, protesting against the order of security demanded of the KODAGU BODINI, remarks:- Alas! How said it is that our district authorities are inflicting capital punishment on the KODAGU BODINI which came into existence only the other day! They are committing infanticide!! All these years we had not a single monthly? The Coorg Zamindars' Association is the only patriotic association in Coorg. It seems that the BODINI should not publish anything concerning this body, or it must give Rs.2,000 as security!! Do they feel so happy in cutting off the tongues of the people!!! The writer next exhorts the people of Coorg to help the editor of the paper and adds if that is not possible, the Zamindars' Association at least should form a Joint Stock Company for starting a fortnightly paper for he the benefit of Coorg.

Security under the Press Act in Coorg.

83. In an article under the heading 'the Press in India' the BHAJEKARALAM, of the 21st Febraury, makes the following among other remarks:- The fierce dragon, the Press Act is so vigilantly guarding the Press in India that it cannot even have a glimpse of what freedom is. There is no room for any hope of emancipation of our Press, anywhere in the near future, From this sad state. We should, therefore, make united efforts to induce the British Government to repeal this law.

The Press in India.

For the week ending 26th March 1920.

No.10 of 1920.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indian Labourers in Ceylon.

6. Referring to the law proposed to be passed by the Ceylon Government freeing the Indian labourer in the Plantations there from all his debts and entrusting th the duty of recruiting labourers and attending to their welfare hereafter to the Special Officer appointed therefore, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th Febraury point to the reported disinclination of the owners of the plantations to be deprived of the privilege of their managers to proceed against labourers in courts of law if they neglect their duty and get them punished and observes:- Such a law is not in force in any places other than those, where Indians have gone as labourers. It is highly cruel provision of law to permit of a labourer being sent to prison for failing to attend to his work for a day. Such a law was in froce in Assam, but has been repealed and Mr. Andrews has stated that it has not inconvenienced the planters there in any way. Why should the planters be afraid that the labourer would run away? What does the latter gain by running away, if he is paid properly and offered conveniences? He would never do so, if he is paid decent wages and treated well.

Indians in Mauritius.

7. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th Febraruy, reproduces in Tamil the observations of the interpreter in the Supreme Court at Mauritius, who is now in India on the condition of the Indians there, as appearing in the BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

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10. The VAISYAMITRAN, of the 16th Febraury, reproduces in Tamil a telegram said to ~~xxx~~ have been received in Paris from Helsingsford (?) stating that the Bolsheviks are making active attempts to create rebellion in India and to establish a Souviet Government there by means of an invasion in March.

Bolshevik menace to India.

16. Under this heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 28th Febraury, writes to the following effect:- It is strange that the proposal emanates from the English people to drive away the Sultan from Constantinople and Europe, will France and the Peace Congerence are for retaining the Sultan in Constantinople. Some English statesmen, the papers of Lord Notherliffe, and the LONDON TIMES, the Bishop and Lord Curzon are working aginst the wishes of the Muhammadans. The Khilafate deputation have explained the consequences that will follow, in the event of Muhammadan opinion being discarded. The Indian Muhammadans are agitated about the Turkish problem, and the Hindus are at once with them. If the people of England turn a deaf ear to the advice of the Muhammadan deputation, they will be responsible for the consequences Even now the English statesmen will do well to think over the matter and satisfy the wishes of the Muhammadans.

The Turkish Problem.

17. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of 1st March, writes to the following effect:- The Christian Missionaries prompted by religious hatred, and statesmen, by race hatred, have been unnecessarily loud in the matter, but they do not realise the intensity of feeling among the Indian Muhammadans It is, however, gratifying to find that the Government of India and Mr. Montagu have upheld the cause of the Muhammadans. Mr. Montagu has clearly explained his view in his interview with the representatives of the DAILY CHRONICLE AND THE EVINING STANDARD. He has said that if there be an imperative necessity to

The Khilafat Problem and Mr. Montagu's determination.

to send out Turkey from Constantinople, it would have been well if the British had refrained from asking the Indians to fight in the war against Turkey. He has said that H.H. the Aga Khan and H.H. the Nizam, who have unmistakably manifested their loyalty, are against the disruption of Turkey. Both the Hindu and the Muhammadans in India are for a satisfactoy solution of the Turkish problem. Mr. Montagu says that even the Indiam members of the Peace Conference do not say that Armenia, Mesopotamis, Syria and Palestine should not go out of the control of Turkey. The Muhammadans cannot subscribe to this opinion. The sacred places of the Muhammadans are in Arabia and they do not consent to their being placed under Christian Governments. The Muhammadans are for self-government being granted to territories subject to Turkey but they are only for self-government within the Turkish Empire. They are against placing them partly under British Government and partly under French Government. Mr. Montagu is strongly against sending Turkey out of Europe. The French are of the same opinion. The Peace Conference has already decided to retain the capital in the possession of Turkey. This merely will not do. The Turks do not consent to a nominal retention of Turkish authority in Europe, and the placing of their Asiatic possessions under European Governments. It is not good that England anf France should take upon themselves new burdens. The feeling among the Muhammadans will grow more intense with the disruption of the Turkish Empire. This will favour the spread of Bolshevism. The gratifying of the desires of the Muhammadans will serve as a strong barrier against the spread of Bolshevism in Asia. The Khilafat deputation that has proceeded to England will clearly explain this. We wish that their endeavours will meet with success.

21. In an article under this heading, the HITAKARINI, of 23rd Febraury, writes:- The American Press which, has been silent) to the following effect:- A sharp discussion

Deputations from the British Guiana and the Fiji Islands.

about the programme of these deputations was commenced by the papers in last October. Mr. Benarasi Das wrote a long article on the subject, in which the selfishness of the deputations, and the devices by which they seek to attract the unfortunate Indian coolies by concealing the real facts, were exposed, and some questions, propounded to be answered by the representatives. They disclose the real life of the Indian labourers in the Fiji Islands and the revolution in their moral life. The following are some of them:-

(1) Is it true that the number of murders in the Fiji Islands is twenty times greater than those in the United Provinces or in Madras? ....

* * *

(3) What do you say about document No.54 of the Fiji Council containing a statement that an Indenture Female coolie should be a concumbine to three male coolies, and many others?

* * *

(5) .... Has not recently a boy of 15 years communicated venereal diseases to a girl of 5 years? .....

(6) Should not a husband, according to the rules in the Fiji Islands, leave his wife for prostitution? ......

Mr. Gandhi has discussed these questions in the YOUNG INDIA of the 12th, and his view is incontrovertible.

22. Referring to the activities of the Bolsheviks in Afghanistan and the frontier States of India, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 2nd March, writes:- The Russians and the Germans

Bolshevik activities in Afghanistan.

have no sincere love towards the Allies. They have a burning hatred against the British. There is probability of the Mussalman world joining hands with them. It would be a great mistake to keep one's eye shut at this time. The British Government ought to

lose no time in giving their support to the League of Nations and should see that all disputes between nations are settled by arbitration. Otherwise, there can be no doubt that a great revolution will come about before long.

The latest meeting of the Khilafate Conference.

24. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 21st Febraury, referring to a unanimous resolution passed by the Khalifate Conference in Bombay on the 15th Febraury, that should the Turkish problem be decided unfavourably, Islam cannot give any more military or monetary help to the Government says that it is generally held that the last hour has come. We should now openly declare in unequivical terms that if the office of Khalifa be deprived of its power, and any non-Muslim power establish its authority over the Holy Places, then there will be an end to our patience.

Bolshevists and Mussalmans.

27. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 25th Febraury, referring to the views of a correspondent of the LONDON TIMES that the object of the Bolshevists is to create Christians and Mussalmans by carrying out an anti-English Propaganda in India and Mesapotamia and similarly an anti-French propaganda in Morocco and Syria, remarks that if this is true then England and France should quickly wake up! Bolshevism cannot be checked by the internment of a few honest men, the confiscation of the Press and the deportation of leaders without trial on the evidences of the C.I.D. This will but increase unrest and discontent.

The chief cause of opposition and discontent between the Crescent and the Cross is the Turkish Problem. Mussalmans are Eye-witnesses of the wrenching of extensive territories from an Islamic State and from the authority of the successor of the Prophet. Such a state of affairs can never promote affection between the Mussalmans and Christians. The effects of Bolshevism may possibly be overcome, but it is difficult to bring the minds of Muhammadans into subjection.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

(40) The DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th Febraury, publishes a speech delivered by ~~the~~ Lala Lajpat Rai on his arrival in Bombay in the course of which he is reported to have made the following observations among the others:- Though we are trodden under foo~~o~~t and insulted and though we are weak, we have rare forces in us and we will rise in the world with the help of these. .. .. .. Friends! One important piece of advice I will give you is not to trust others but to have self-confidence.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

/ .. .. / If like the present great powers in the world we were a race uttering falsehood, and we destroy the features of our ancient greatness and commit wicked acts, acting on rude principles~~(f high and low and we cannot proge)~~ we will also be considered a big community in the world and deemed fit for responsible government. .. .. .. The world is now being governed on the principle of high and low and we cannot prove of this principle. What we want is equality. .. .. .. There is no more mischievous or vicious ~~world~~ word than "Imperialism." I do not like to be a party to any Imperial system. .. .. Unless the British empire is made the property of the British subjects, it will come down to pieces, like other empires. .. .. The League of Nations is a "humbug" .. .. .. The western countries offer a lesson to you. They said that they carried on the recent war for the purpose of spreading democratic principles, and securing equality of privileges everywhere. But you know what for they started the war(laughter.). If they claim a victory after sacrificing numerous lives on the field of war and losing property, why cannot we, wh o stand for truth and justice, make that sacrifice? .. .. .. Our rulers, proclaim to the world that they are such and that you are the ruled. You have been for the last 150 years under the impression that you are inferior to others.. .. .. We want the life of the Government, that is, the power of the

purse and that of protecting the country. Utilise whatever opportunity that may offer itself for benefiting your country. I will call those mad who ask you to reject such an opportunity. But we will not be satisfied until we acquire SWARAJ. Let them notethis. An unceasing, untiring and never-ending effort is the price of liberty. Our effort should be within the limits of righteousness. Oh youths of the land of Bharata! Are you prepared to pay this price? .. .. .. We are ready to give gladly the articles that may be required by any one. But we will not give them out of fear of one's authority or physical force. Rather than allow others to rob what we are not inclined to give heartily, we will refrain from doing any work and die. Let the Indian youths learn this lesson. .. .. .. A new era has dawned and a new spirit has risen. The Year 1919 will be an important year in the history of our country, not because of the reforms, but because of Jallianwallah. It is the latter and not the former that should be imprinted for ever on our hearts in letters of gold. Jallianwallah is the temple where he should worship, until mistakes are rectified properly. .. .. .. Do your work yourselves and do not rely upon others. Do not imitate other countries. It is stupidity. Be free. The sprit of liberty will give an impetus to sacrifice. This spirt should arise within yourself. It cannot come as a result of an Act of Parliament. You should not look to any office for your living. It will land you only in a slavish life. Take the sword and cut the tree. If you handle the broom, do the sweeping.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th Febraury, quotes portions of the above speech in its leader and appealing to its leaders to impress on their minds the many subtle views expressed in that speech, observes:- Our Lala sheds tears at the thought of the condition of Mother Bharata and tries to improve it. He is prepared to make any sacrifice in this direction. This the real patriot!' Let our friends, who hail the return of

Lajpat as the advent of a new force, try to ~~xxxx~~ imbibe his qualities. We are anxious to infuse this new force in the Tamil land. O thou Tamil land, that hast produced Kings, heroes, heroes, saints and virtuous women! Cannot you Produce one Lajpat? Cannot the new force appear in you? O new force!. When are you, sung by Bharati, going to dance throughout the Tamil land? We are eagerly awaiting your advent.

Continuing its eulogium of Lala Lajpat Rai, the DESA-BHAKTAN, of the 26th Febraury, also quotes portions of his speech and says:- It is great men with the magnanimous character of the ancient rishis that should hereafter take to the service of the country. If those weltering in the mire of the present day civilisation take to this service, it will lead to the deterioration of the knowledge of self that is now pervading the country. Some Indians want to improve our country on the lines of the west. To them ancient India seems to be a foolish country. They are inculcating In India all the principles of western statesmanship. They wish to deal with India as laid down in western political works. Their action will convert true India into an untrue India. Our Lala Has depicted the low features of the west. He laughs at its being a slave to falsehood and rudeness. Some politicians make a fuss on the platform, and, babling anything they like, rouse brutal force and spoil our country their actions can never secure liberty.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th Febraury, publishes these speeches delivered by Messrs. Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai on the occasion of an address presented by the students of Bombay to the Lala, and the following observations find place in the speeches of the latter:- The modern system of education has both advantages and disadvantages. But the disadvantages have swelled much in this country. I regret for your having to pold through an educational michinery, which chills your enthusiasm, takes away all mirth from your life, spoils your progress, circumscribes your intelligence and prevents you to some extent from becoming a real men. .. .. O youths of

the land of Bharata! We should demonstrate to the world that we are preserving our manliness in Hindustan, in the midst of numerous hardships and miseries. It is off our hands; we have mortgaged it and how are we to redeem it? It is only by showing that you attach a greater value to your honour as Indians than to your individual respect. Do not aspire for high offices; for fetters are fetters, though they may be of gold or silver. Instead of taking to high appointments, go out into the world and work as carpenters and coolies.

Quoting the words of advice given by the Lala to the Indian youths that they should work with self-reliance and enthusiasm, if they are to lift up "mother Bharata from her present fallen condition", the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th Febraury, observes:- We hope every one will not e the above words, pregnant with meaning, uttered by Lala Lajpat Rai as soon as he set foot in Bombay, when many of our Moderate friends are asking the people to jump with joy at the passing of the Reforms Act and raise statues for this or that person. We take it to be the view of Lala Lajpat Rai, that, as the leaders have made only a small breach in the fort of the Bureaucracy, though with a view to lead a happy life, seated grandly on the throne of SWARAJ, it is the youths bringing up the rear that can demolish that fort completely hoist the rare flag of soul-force and occupy the aforesaid throne. He has spoken thus only because he thinks that India should not remain chained just like an elephant does, without knowing its strength. As a few block the youths and others and ask them to wait , just when they are beginning to realise their strength, an occasion has arisen for the Lala to encourage these youths and ask them to be manly. He dispels the impression that England, France, America and Japan are the only countries that have advanced on democratic lines and points out, from his personal experience, that there are very few politicians there who speak out their hearts, that a larger number of people

are in lavish condition there and that there are hardly any there who merge their self-interest for higher ideals. His advice is that we should rely upon ourselves and not upon others for securing our happiness and liberty and his refutation of the remark of some, that we are inferior to others and are not fit for SWARAJ, is noteworthy. Every one could have seen by experience that we can have only piecemeal reforms, if we rely upon others. His views about what our aspirations should be exactly agree with the ideals of the Nationalists. We hope every word of his will be noted well by the Indian youths and they will make an active effort to give a helping hand to Mother Bharata to raise from her fallen condition.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 3rd March, in an article welcoming the return of ~~xxx~~ Lala Lajpat Rai to India, observes:- He is not the only patriot who was sundered from his kith and kin by the action of the Government. But some how this fear has disappeared in a wonderful way. Those who were responsible for the Punjab disturbances, became the protectors of India. It is they who were instrumen al in bringing about the Royal Proclamation. In doing us harm the have in effect done us real good. We think that, in the Punjab and Amritsar, statues must be set up for General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer and worshipped.

The Indian Civil Services and the reforms.

41. Adverting to the observations said to have been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp, on the occasion of the anniversary of the S.P.G. College at Trichinopoly, in praise of the civilians, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th Febraury, remarks:- Some of the civilians do deserve our praise too and we do not deny the valuable work done by them in India. But we regret that the members of the service have not generally paid ~~in~~ any ~~great~~ regard to the statements often made by big men to the effect that they (the civilians) do not try to curtail the reforms and that they are prepared to co-operate with the people. Several of them are conducting themselves quite contrary to the aforesaid

statements. Who can forget Mr. Hamilton, the Deputy Commissioner of Jullunder, who declared that the Congress was an association of of agitators and an abode of seditionsits? It is the low acts of some of the Indian Civil Service Officials, having a low character, that spoil the name of several people. But how can we at this juncture forget the resolutions passed by the Indian Civil Service association soon after the Montagu-Chelmsford report was published?

The authorities and the newspapers.

43. Remarking that while the Governments of Burma and Bombay have themselves taken action in connexion with the newspapers in their respective provinces and not only cancelled the restrictive orders imposed papers but also returned the security amounts taken from them, the Madras Government have entrusted the duty of reconsidering such orders to the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the District Magistrates, the SWADESA-MITRAN, of the 25th Febraury, says:- Nothing has come of it till now. Why should the Government relegate to the subordinate officials a thing which they can do themselves? If the Government are not inclined to withdraw the power already given by them to the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the District Magistrates, will they at least ask these officers to take action promptly?

A lecture on the Khalifate Question.

44. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th Febraury, publishes a lecture said to have been delivered by one Mr. P.V. Hanumanta Rao at Srivilliputtur on the Khilafate problem on the 26th January 1920, in which he points out that the British should be grateful to Islam, as it was the latter that allowed the former to enter India and extended its protection to them and repeats the oft-quoted arguments that the British, who profess to observe a policy of non-intervention in regard to religion , should not interfere with the religious faith of Moslems, who regard to the Sultan of Turkey as their Khaliph

and that such an interference will create discontent not only among the Moslems but also among the Indians generally.

45. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th Febraury, publishes a life of Mr. Tilak from the pen of a correspondent, in which the following statements occur among others:- When the people of other countries were leading the life of savages, without any clothing, and living up on one another and jumping like monekys ~~af~~ from tree to tree, India was highly civilised and was occupying a lofty position in many respects.,,But now it has become an abode of poverty and, having lost its wealth and freedom among other things is reduced to such a position as to be laughed at and treated with contempt by others countries. If this is to be condition of India under the begnine aegis of England, the Home of the principle of self-determination , and in these days when knowledge and civilization have reached the highest pitch, what are we to say? ... ... The bureaucrats shudder at the determination of Mr. Tilak and the regard the Indians have for him .. .. .. Mr. Tilak who entered prison ~~(and the regard the Indians have for him. .. .. .. Mr)~~ thrice to demonstrate his readiness to sacrifice his body, wealth and life for liberating mother Bharata from her pitiable position, is now shining as the uncrowned king of India.

The life of Mr. Tilak.

48. Reiterating the complaint that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments were taking the moderates into their confidence and neglecting the Congress party, in spite of the admission by the moderates themselves before the Joint Committee that the Congress have the largest following in the country quoting instances to prove that the Government have been choosing only the moderates for every committee appointing appointed by them recently, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th

The authorities and the moderates.

Febraury, refers to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 19th idem that all the non-official members of the Council should be formed into a committee to frame rules under the Reforms Act and the reply of Sir William Morris that the Government consider the committee appointed already to be a representative one, as a few are on it, from every big province, and adds:- It is really surprising that the moderates in every province should have been chosen and placed on the committee and the argument advanced that it is representative in character. In reply to a question by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel at the meeting of the Council yesterday as to whethere there are any representatives of the Congress deputation on this committee, Sir William Morris stated that he had no clear idea of who formed the Congress deputation. We cannot believe this. If Sir william had been holding a hig position, without knowing this, he does not appear to have noted what has been happening in connexion with the reforms. This could not be. Though we do not understand the reply of Sir William Morris, it shows that the Government of India are not prepared to recognise the existenceof the Congress Party. When the Hon'ble Mr. Patel asked in the meeting of the Council on the 20th Idem what the opinion of the Government of India was about the statement of Lord Carmichael in London that the Government should favour the moderates, Sir William repleid that it referred not to any particular palitical party but to moderation in General and added that it was the opinion of the Government that the moderation would gain strength, if the reforms were worked out effectively. So they are going to strengthen Moderation! Considering these things that the fact that the Provincial Governments are also adopting the same course, it is certain that the Government are not prepared to co-operate with the Congress party, who are nationalists, So the Congress and its following should without giving room for the object of the authorities, who are thus neglecting this party and expect to conduct the administration in such a manner, with

the help of the moderates, as to frustrate the speedy acquisition of Home Rule, being accomplished, return the members of the Congress party to the Legislative Councils.

The VYASAMITRAN, of the 9th Febraury, also complains that the Local Government are favouring the Moderates and neglecting the Nationalists and lays stress upon the necessity of the authorities altering their attitude in such a manner as to make it possible for all the parties in the country to co-operate in working out the reforms.

The VYASAMITRAN traces, in its issue of the 16th Febraury the events that led to the change in the constitution of the British Congress Commttee so as to make it really represent the Congress and referring to the formation recently of a new committee in England, to voice the opinion of the Moderates, with Lord Carmichael at its head, remarks:- Many of the members of the latter Committee are civilians who worked in India. So there is no doubt that these will follow only the views of the Indian Office. We learn that the Secretary of State forIndia too has expressed his appreciation of the work undertaken by this committee. This would make it appear that the Moderate Committee will work in the name of the India Office, and we take it therefore that the Moderates have brought this committee into existence in the name of the people to support theGovernment. But the British Congress Committee will apprise the British public of the real opinion of the Indians. It is necessary that the British public should note the difference between the two.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th Febraury, refers to the information furnished by the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA, that the 'Secret Committee' discussing the rules under the Reforms Act have transferred one of the Seats allotted for popular representatives in the council of State to the European merchants on the suggestion of Messrs. Sastri and Sinha, and adds:- According to a scale published by the Government of India, Bengal had seven seats in the Council of State

~~fxx indix~~ three being allotted to the Public three to the Moslems and one to the English merchants. As revised by the present committee, crores of people have two representatives and an association comprising a few companies has also two representatives. Hereafter the Europeans will not hesitate to kiss the Moderate. It is also convenient to the Governmnet to take only Moderates on their committees, for they will suit themselves to the occasion and there will be no room for the cmplaint that the Government are affording special facilities to the Europeans. No wonder then that the authroitties find it inconvenient to include in their committees the Nationalists, who attach a greater value to the people and may therefore prove obstructive.

The Nellore Disturbances.

26 Mar 1920

52. Adverting to the Hindu-Moslem disturbances, that occurred in Nellore some monhths back and the inquiry subsequently conducted by Mr. ~~Coxxxxhx~~ Couchman who was appointed for the purpose, the <u>Desabhaktan</u>, of the 28th Febraury, says that the publicity Board at least will do well to issue a communique stating whether Mr. Couchman has sent any report to the Government on the matter and if he has, what action has been taken on the said report and why the order of the Government has not been published for the information of the people.

The reforms and the policy of the Government.

53. Referring to the news that Lord Sinha and Mr. Bupendra Nath Basu, have been adeputed by the Secretary of State for India to determine the procedure to be adopted after the introduction of the reforms, the VAISYAMITRAN? of the 9th Febraury, remarks:- If the reforms are to be given effect to properly, it will not do for the authorities to offer a concession with one hand and to take awgy the same with another. The ~~xxxxxxxx~~ encomium bestowed by Lord Sihha on the despatch of the Government of India tends to reduce the

the confidence of the people in the new reforms; for the action taken by the Government of India in allotting seats in the Legislative Council and the Council of State makes one doubt if the reforms may in practice prove to be quite useless. But we may take it that, as the originators of these reforms have themselves come down here to give effect to them, they will not do it in such a manner as to effect the dignity thereof.

The capacity of the Indians as Statesmen.

54. The VAISYAMITRAN, of the 16th Febraury, demurs to the view expressed by great men like Lord Sinha that the Indians have not yet acquired sufficient administrative capacity and observes:- Has not this was demonstrated that statesmanship is at a discount in every country? Was anything done without one country seeking the aid of others and was not the Government in many countries changed again and again on account of party differences? How did Africa and many countries in Europe, which required a trustee to take care of them before the war, come to deserve complete liberty ? Is this principle inapplicable to India alone? Much cannot be madeof the class differences in India, for there are wider differences than these in other countries. As for the capacity of defending the country, the Indians have, even though they have not had much of military training, displayed their martial valour in the recent war. While many countries which were completely or partially under others before the war have gained complete freedom, India has not obtained it and the only reason for it is the colour of her people. When even the Negroes of Africa have been granted the right of self-determination and have begun to exercise it, what are we to say of the retrograde view of the Moderates about our capacity? Are we not aware of the laws in administration

(~~and have begun to exercise it, what are we to say of the~~)

being rectified later in other countries and if so, why should there be a separate system for India? Though the present Act has been kindly introduced by the Parliament, we hope the League of Nations will exercise, in the case of India, the special privilege they have of safeguarding the interests of nations generally.

57. The DRAVIDAN, of the 25th Febraury, expresses its appreciation of the action of the Government of India in having nominated Rai Bahadur K.Venkata Reddi Nayudu as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and remarking that the Viceroy has now realised his mistake in having prolonged the life of the old council for the purpose of facilitating the work of giving effect to the reforms, which in effect denied an opportunity for the non-Brahmans to send even one representative of theirs to that council and nominated this gentleman of his own accord, hopes that His Excellency, will bestow the same thought also on other matters connected with the Non-Brahmans.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu.

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59. Remarking that the Local Government appear to have offered permission to Mr. Srinivasa Achariyar, now, at Pondichetry, to return to British India only on certain conditions such as that he would not take part in politics, here, and that he seems to have declined to get into British India on any conditions and to take advantage of the kindness of the authorities unless patriots like Mr. V.V.S. Ayyar and others at Pondicherry are also given relief, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th Febraury, says:- We highly appreciate the SATYAGRAHA Policy adopted by this patriot. But the action of the Government does not seem to be consistent with the present Conditions or expert statesmanship. We regret their dolling out the Royal clemency ~~on a~~

The authorities and political prisoners.

on a mercantile basis. Let the Madras Government grant complete relief to our brethren at Pondicherry, at least in view of the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel.

The same paper also hopes that the Local Government will remove some minor restrictions still imposed on Subrahmanya Bharati, who was released from his exile in Pondicherry last year, and remarks that it is deregatory to the Government themselves to restrict the liberty of one who now shines as the king of poets in the Tamil Land.

Referring to the information given in the BANGALEE that it was about Mr. Arabinda Ghosh and not his brother that the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee put a question in the Imperial Legislative Council during the discussion of the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel regarding the release of political prisoners in general and that the Hon'Ble Mr. Macpherson gave a reply about the brother by mistake, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th Febraury, remarks that the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjee himself perhaps jumbled over the names, for there was nothing to prevent his pointing out that it was not about Barindrakumar Ghosh that he had asked and adds:- Leaving the past alone, the absence of a great scholar and saint like Arabindo from India has indeed a dimming effect upon her lustre. We hope that the Government will remove this defect soon.

60. European officials in India.

Anent the news in the BOMBAY CHRONICLE that a European Settlement Officer in Ahmedabad has brought about the dismissal of a village Officer and the issue of a notice on his two brothers that their lands would be attached, for the fault of this Village Officer not having been able to find out the names of certain boys who appear to have protested against the European Official shooting down peacocks in a village, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th Febraury, observes:- It is such cruel acts of arrogant European officials that bring a bad name to the British

We do not think friendly relations will prevail between the authorities and the people in India, as expected by His Majesty, unless such high-handed acts are put a stop to.

Referring to the same incident, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th Febraury, remarks:- The fact that officials act wisely and that they are not checked by the Government gives room for the people getting discontented with the Government themselves. If the people can gain easy access to the higher officials , their subordinates will be afraid of teasing the people. As, in British India, the Provincial Governors and other high officials are at a great distance and several petty officials guard the way so as to make it difficult for the people to get at them, it becomes impossible for afflicted persons to see the higher officials and explain their hardships. Thus the mischievous acts of several officials do not see the light of the day and they find it possible to carry everything in their own way.

61. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th Febraury, publishes the lecture delivered by Krishnaswami Sarma, at Vellore on the 25th idem on the

The lectures of Krishnaswami Sarma.

61. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th Febraury, publishes another lecture delivered by the same individual at Tiruvannamalai on the 20th idem, in which the following observations find place among others:- We of the land of Bharata, which was once occupying a very lofty position, are now insulted and xxxxx gagged by those whom we have improved and, having lost our liberty, we are feeling helpless. The condition

Lectures of Krishnaswamy Sarma.

of trade in India has been going down from day to day. There is no portion of the world where the people pay heavy taxes like us. Though we pay more in this shape than other countries, we do not derive proper benefits therefrom. The amount paid by us with difficulty and on compulsion is not spent properly in accordance with our needs but is utilised in useless ways. Our representative in the Legislative Council have not the power of preventing this inordinate expenditure or of questioning it. To protect us, who have not the capacity or strength or weapons to protect ourselves even from wild beasts and who are deemed by others to be a timid lot, 46 crores of rupees are spent on the army alone and 9 crores on European officials. An enormous amount of money is again spent on the christian missionaries. All this money comes from the taxes paid by us and is not brought from England. Brethren! How long are we to continue in this disgraceful position? Should we not change it and show that we are also men and have liberty? To do this, you should return only the Nationalists to the Legislative Council.

66. Referring with satisfaction to the nomination of Mr. M.C. Rajah to the local Legislative Council, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 1st March, points to one from the community of cobblers having got into the Tiruvannamalai Municipality recently and a PANCHAMA having secured a seat in the Kodayanallur Union in the Tinnevelly district and remarks:- There is no doubt that there are a few competent persons available in different places for occupying positions like these. If the authorities would nominate all such the longstanding grievances of our PANCHAMA brethren will be redressed in a way.

The progress of the depressed classes.

72. The ANDHRAPATRIKA? of the 25th Febraury, write s in its leader under this heading:- The message delivered

The Message of Mr.Lajpat Rai.

by Mr. Lajput Rai at Bombay has been published in full in the BOMBAY CHRONICLE. It deserves the attention of all. Mr. Lajput Rai has observed the nature of the Japanese, the Americans and the English who boast that they are the vanguard of civilisation. He proclaims that excepting in some small matters, the Indians do not yield to any other race .. .. .. that it is enough if they are upright. .. In Europe is heard the news that this race is languishing and that race is engaged in selling its women. India suffering from the pangs of hunger has never yet stooped to foulø ways. The peeple of Japan, America, and England, says he, have not been emancipated from mental thraldom, in the midst of their freedom. Theose that boldly speak out the truth are rare among them. Search the whole world and you cannot find another Gandhi, says Mr. Lajput Rai. Nowhere else in the world, says he from personal experience, can be found people who excel Indians in self-control or in uprightness. He says that it has become baxix habitual to the western people to exaggerate the defects of the Indians..... People he says cannot be satisfied unless they get self-government. He has no faith in brute force, and believes that our subjects must be achieved by soulø force, and that freedom can be secured by an effort of the national will and, not only by an act of the Government. He says that India can work along with the other countries for the uplifting of the world sunk in sin, and that a congress committee should be established in America to enlighten her people regarding India, about which perverse notions prevail among the Americans.....

73. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRA PATRIKA, of the 26th Febraury, makes the following among other observations while refuting the arguments of TIMES OF INDIA against such a reconstitution:- In the western world, new countries such as Poland have sprung up on the basis of common language. .. .. .. Even in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland press for being constituted separate territorial units. The Montford report admits that the existing provinces were not constituted on any principle. Ancient India was divided into provinces on the language basis .. .. The conclusions of the TIMES are ungrounded. The reforms recognise the province as a unit, and grant the shadow of self-government only to the Provinces. .. .. .. If then, the provinces are not properly constituted, Provincial Government will be a failure. The sooner we have such a reconstitution of provinces, the better will it be for the country.

The reconstitution of provinces on the language basis; and the TIMES OF INDIA.

80. In an article under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 1st March, reports Mr. Lajpat Rai to have observed as president of a meeting at lahore in which Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri spoke, that the reforms now granted must have been granted ten years ago, that the bureaucracy retain their powers under them, that the decision of the Privy Council Justifying the action of the Government of India will create despair among the people, that the Government of India still retains powers to issue such orders and that so long as such powers are retained, there is no use of granting any reforms. The paper adds -- It becomes plain that legal provision should be made for safe-guarding the birthrights of the people, unless the Government of

The safe-guarding of birth-rights.

India is made thoroughly responsible to the people...... All have to admit that it is a chief defect of the refor ms that they do not provide for such a safeguarding. All parties must joing hands and work hard to see that this defect is soon removed.

The Hindu-Muhammadan union.

81. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika of the 1st March, givesin Telugu what Mr. Gandhi writes on the subject in the YOUNG INDIA.

An old regulation prohibiting cow-killing.

85. In an article under this heading, HITAKARINI (under new management) of the 23rd Febraury refers to an order issued by H.M.Lawrence in 1841, prohibiting cow killing in Amritsar, and remarks:- The hard heartedness of Sir M.O'Dwyer in 1919 is equalled by the benevolence of Mr. H.M. Lawrence in 1841 (above referred to).

Bolshevism.

90. The DARBAR, of the 15th Febraury, has the following note unde the heading "India" :- papers say that the Bolshevism are trying to create revolution in India, that Russian Bolsheviks and some Indians went to the meeting held at Somara (Samara?) that an xx it has been resolved not only to arrange for Bolsheviks in India but also to go on expedition against her, and that it is a fact that Bolshevik agents are working in India to a great extent.

The same paper has another note on the subject, which contains:-....A writer says as follows about Bolsheviks:-------- All those in Russia should join the army or, they will be hanged. The property and life of people are not safe. Nobody knows when they will come and rob the property of the people. They come by night or day and take away everything they can lay their hands on. Without the help of other countries, Russia cannot improve.

For the week ending 13th March 1920.

No.11 of 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The inauguration of a Labour Union in Malabar.

2. The West Coast Sepctator, of the 4th March observes:- "On the West Coast labour conditions are far from satisfactory. Labour is literally being sweated, under-paid and overworked. European capitalists, to their lasting credit it must be said, do not sweat labour, and pay handsomely for service rendered, but it is with the deepest regret that we have to say that it is Indian capital which sins the most. We know factory labourers who work for nine hours on a paltry pittance ranging from 6 to 8 annas a day, and often overtime to make out a precarious existence. We ourselves have often remonstrated with the employers against such tratment, but we have invariably been told that labour could be had even for four annas a day per head. While employers are piling up profits, ride in motor-cars and pass off as respectable members of society, even as philanthropists, labour is ground down, and it is the crushing poverty of the people that compel them to slave for a few annas a day. .. .. .. We would suggest the inaguration of a union in Malabar with headquarters at calicut, embracing all sorts and conditions of labour. Knowing as we do the conditions that prevail on this coast, we have no hesitation in saying that the time has come for such an organisation. But we would earnestly suggest that an attempt should be made to interest capital in the union so that the two might go on in unity and concord without giving rise to undesirable events."

9. Referring to the news received in London, that the recent strike in the Fiji islands was part of a political agitation and that the the Indian leaders, who were responsible for it, are sure to be arrested and deported,

The Indians in the Fiji Islands.

the DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th March says:- We had information only about a strike in these islands and no details about it were forth coming. We are now suddenly informed of the possibility of a deportation. The majority of the Indians there are ignorant Indian coolies and it is not known which Indian leaders there instigated these men to take part in a dangerous political agitation and commit undesirable acts. It is really surprising that we are not having any information about the occurrences in these islands, where live thousands of illiterate Indians.

The Andhrapatrika of the 3rd March, says with reference to the strike of the Indian labourers in the Fiji islands:- Under the circumstances above described, it is not just on the part of the Bishop of Polynesia to try to take more Indians to that country. It is necessary that the people and the Government should stop emigration till India secures the political independence of the colonies.

10. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd March and the DESABHAKTAN, of the 3rd March, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held at Tirupattur on the 29th Febraury, to discuss this question and the following observations find place in the speeches delivered therein:- By reading books written by Anglo-Indians, we are led to believe that rulers like Haider and Tippu treated the Indians cruelly. But the history of these rulers published recently by the Government of Mysore belies this view altogether. Both Haider ane Tippu conducted the administration without any racial distinction and treated

The Khilafat question.

the Hindus and the Muhammadans alike.... The Khilafate question should be decided only by the Mussalmans. Christians or other religionists have no reason whatever to interfere in this matter. Still, the European countries are trying to interfere and reduce the position of the Caliph. .. .. .. The Mussalmans will not tolerate the endangering of the Khalifate in any way. They will be prepared for any kind of sacrifice.

Labourers in the Fiji Island.

11. Under this heading the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th March writes:- Mahatma Gandhi has written that, under the present dependent condition of India, the emigration of Indian labourers cannot serve any other purpose than comprising the respect of the coun ry and subverting the morals of the people. We publish elsewhere the reply of the Bishop of Polynesia. Whatever may be his favourable opinion of the conditions of the Fiji Islands, there has recently been a great commotion among the Indian labourers in the islands.. .. .. Unrest among the labourers will not come out of nothing. It is clear that the conditions in the islands are not favourable. However much the Bishop may try, be cannot conceal this fact from the view of the people. Without freedom at ho e, Indians cannot command respect elsewhere..... Whatever the Indians betake themselves, they are there admitted as mere coolies. They are not afforded opportunities for holding high offices, for acquiring immovable property or for carrying on trade..... In the whole civilised world, the Indians is needed for service. ~~A notion prevails in the colonies that the Indian is needed for service.~~ A notion prevails in the colonies that the Indian is born to serve, and the white-man, to enjoy. It is therefore the opinion of Mr. Gandhi, that until the white races come to see the Indians as their equal, the latter will do well to remain in their country, living upon grue. .. .. As the YOUNG INDIA has written,"people will do well to remain where they are. Sufficient for us is the evil that we have."

14. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 9th March, protesting against the appointment of the committee to inquire into the problem of supplying labour to Fiji and British Guiana at the instance of the deputations from theose islands, remarks:-

The Fiji and British Guiana deputations.

The ever-increasing poverty of India caused by the measures of the East India company which have caused a bolt on the Britsh fame and honour and by the subsequent policy of the Government in not adopting a protectionist ~~and by the se~~) policy for fear of being censured by western merchants necessitated the Indian labour to emigrate to foreign countries to eke out their livelihoodl But with the advent of the war and with the recommendations of the Industrial commission followed by the establishment of factories and industries, the outlook has changed and there is a dearth of labour in India. From the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy in the Legislative Council, it is easy to infer that the Government of India are not quite against the idea of sending labour to foreign countries. Why should the Government of India be so solicitous about helping these Island? Why should Indians go there if they are not to be treated there on a footing of equality? When there is enough means in this country to allow our labourers to eke out their livelihood, why should the Government of India co-operate in sending labour outside India? When it is the duty of the people to consult the members of the deputations and decide what is necessary, the attempt of the Government to act without the consent of the people is hardly just. Though the statement of the Governor-General that it is not proper to prevent the Indian labourers from going outside in the event of their getting a better living there, appears quite plausible, will not the security offered by the Committee, appointed on behalf of the Government, tend to expose the illiterate many to an evil greed? When the Government do not intend to interfere in regard to the freedom of such

such of the labourers as go to foreign countries without making any contact, why should the Government flutter so much for the sake of these members who have come from Fiji and Guiana to collect men? When no official of the Government of India thought fit to take up this question, what does it can derive a greater benefit from the native coolies, when it is possible for the Government of India to create all facilities for them in this countr , it behoves the Government not to co-operate either directly or indirectly in the matter of sending them to foreign countries.

The opinion of certain lookers-on with reference to Turkey.

*& 17. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 2nd March, commenting on the agitation in England for the expulsion of Turkey from Constantinople, refers to the criticisms, made by Mr. Bennet against the Viceroy's silence in keeping Indians in ignorance as to the real character of Turkish rule which would not have promoted affection in them and his solacing speech delivered at Delhi before the Khalifate deputation, and regrets that Mr. Bennet has no knowledge of the responsibility of a Viceroy. If Mr. Bennet were to have the good fortune to become the Viceroy of India and an ordinary member of the Parliament were to take exception to his action, he would then realise that it is one thing to talk at a distance of thousand miles and quite another to take the administration of India into one's own hands.

The Khalifate and Hindus.

20. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 7th March, concurring in the view of Dr. T.N.S. Rajan expressed at the District Khilafate Conference held at Tiruchengodu the other day, invites Hindu brethren not merely to attend conferences but to decide as to the extent and nature of the practical aid they can render us!

The writer asks the religious leaders to declare whether or not it is incumbent on Muhammadans to protect the Holy Places, and what the religious injunction is as regards one who neglects to support the cause of the Khalifate with his voice, his pen and even life itself.

(e) LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL.

Panchamas at Rajahmundry.

26. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 3rd March, refers to a resolution of the Panchamas at Rajahmundry, requesting His Excellency the Governor to appoint a member of that community as Municipal Councillor in the place of a Christian appointed by the Collector, and prays that His Excellency will grant their request.

Representatives of the Depressed classes.

27. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 6th March, refers to the appointment of Christians as as representatives of the depressed classes in the municipalities of Ellore and Rajahmundry, and says:- We do not object to Christians being appointed as members; but it is not proper to appoint them to represent the depressed classes. This defeats the purpose of the order of the Government in regard to the representation of the depressed classes. Again the idea already prevails that a panchama cannot be honoured by the Hindu society unless he embraces a foreign religion. The present appointments will only confirm this. Only when a panchama is appointed to represent panchamas, can an opportunity be afforded for the higher classes to move with them on equal terms. Such a reform cannot be effected by appointing as representative one belonging to another religion.

35. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 1st March, writes:- The Administrative policy has undergone frequent changes after the British began to ~~ev~~ govern India, The first change ~~ha~~ was necessitated by the by the Sepoy mutiny, which though it had no connexion with politics, led to the transfer of India to the direct control of the Crown and to the issue of a proclamation guaranteeing equal privileges to Indians ~~in~~ with other British subject and also granting some rights in regard to religion, etc. The next change was brought about by the unrest that followed the partition of Bengal, which was due only to the high-handed action of the bureaucrats. The adoption of repressive measures by the bureaucrats then did not help to secure peace in the country. It only made the people get disgusted with the bureaucratic system of administration. But all the same the people did not hate British Rule, but only demanded Home Rule subject to the British Government. The European war instilled a desire for responsible government throughout the world. When this desire was gaining strength in India, the bureaucracy displayed their capacity by passing laws like the Rowlatt Act and, wasting their energy, brought disgrace on themselves. Though the agitation carried on by our leaders during the period of the war to change ~~th~~ the bureaucratic system of administration has not been successful completely, it did indeed secure a little advantage and this was with regard to the liberty of speech. Not that there are no laws restricting this liberty now. But they have all become rusted, on account of the trend of the times. The door of constitutional agitation is not shut up now, and it is possible to secure SWARAJ by making a mighty effort through it. The Royal Proclamation has now given us more satisfaction than even the reforms, as His Majesty has recognised therein that, if a few of our people transgressed the law at a time ~~when~~ when the bureaucratic repression was at its highest, it was due to their attachment for their country. If the

A change in the administrative policy.

bureaucrats would change their method of administration and co-operate with the popular leaders, unrest will never appear in India. We hope they would do away with all repressive laws and co-operate with the leaders who have been released recently, understanding the significance of the words of His Majesty.

European officials in India.

40. Referring to some unsavoury remarks said to have been made about the Congress and the Arya Samaj by Mr. Hamilton, a Deputy Commissioner in Punjab, and to the treatment accorded to Mr. Vaswani in Sindh and to Sir P.S. Sivaswami Ayyear in Burma and detailing at length an incident in Singh and Burma and detailing at length an incident in Sindh again in which a respectable merchant is reported to have been prevented from occupying a certain seat in the Sessions Court on the score that he was not a DARBARU, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th March remarks, though the cycle of time is progressing towards democracy and a new spirit has been spreading all over India, reducing the number of title-hunters and persons hanging upon bureaucrats for favour, the European bureaucrats here do not give up their old ways and mean acts on the part of some of these Europeans have often been reported for some time past and adds:- While His Majesty has stated in his Proclamation that the officials and the people should work in harmony, some petty-minded officials, puffed up with pride, are injuring several persons. They do not behave respectfully towards Indians, whom they consider to be inferior to them. We seriously apprehend that, as long as this spirit continues, no harmony will be possible between the rulers and the ruled in India;

Racial differences.

41. Quoting a notification in the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE, calling for applications from Europeans and Anglo-

Indians who have read up to the seventh standard for employment in the Telegraph department and stating that, if a sufficient number of such are not forthcoming, applications from Indian Graduates would be considered, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4 th March, observes:- The statement of Queen Victoria in her Royal proclamation of 1858, that her Indian subjects will be given equal treatment with her other subjects, has not been given effect to till now in practice. We are very sorry to note that there seems to be be no likelihood of the differential treatment disappearing even on ea account of the new spirit that has arisen throughout the world as a result of the great War. It is highly regrettable that such a responsible officer as a Post-Master-General should have issued a notification accentuating racial differences. If Europeans and Anglo-Indians, who have studied up to the seventh standard, are enough to do the work, why should the Indians alone be graduates? Are the Indians inferior to the Europeans and Anglo-Indians in point of knowledge or capacity? Why should the authorities be still ignorant of the fact that such actions are contrary to the spirit of the recent Proclamation of His Majesty? Will the Viceroy note this and do the needful at once?

The Punjab incidents.

43. Referring to the publication in England of the report of the Government of the Punjab about these incidents, though Mr. Montagu stated in Parliament that no one should come to any conclusion about the Punjab affair before the report of the Hunter Committee was out, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th March, points, with surprise, to the delay of six months in the report of the Punjab Government reaching the Government of India and the further delay of two months in this ~~(London that)~~ report reaching the Secretary of State, and, quoting the argument of the INDIA of London that the object of the publication in England was to furnish matter for those who would support the Government when questions are

asked about the Punjab incidents at the next meeting of the Parliament and also to prepare the mind of the public if the Hunter Committee should report agianst the popular party, remarks that if remains to be seen what justice ~~se~~ can be obtained from such a Secretary of State.

The Punjab disturbances.

Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika of the 4th March publishes in Telugu a letter addressed to the INDIA by Mr. A. G. Guardiner on the Punjab disturbances.

The Press Act and the newspapers.

44. The SWADESAMITRAN OF THE 1st March writes:- It is only if Printing presses and newspapers are free that they can open the eyes of the people. There should be no ~~see~~ separate law apart form the Penal Code dealing with presses and newspapers. Still, there is such an Act in India which has already devoured many presses and newspapers and remains a permanent menace to them. When the people are granted a share in the administration, the newspapers cannot properly apprise those undertaking in this responsibility of the opinion of the public, unless these papers are also given the right of condemning the administration. So, if the people are to do justice to their share in the administration, the Press Act should be repealed immediately. In reply to a question in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, it was stated that there was no intention of repealing the Act the assurances given by the Government at the time, the way in which the Act has been enforced subsequently and the question whether the conditions that existed then still continued.

Remarking that the suppression of the newspapers is ~~xxx~~ practically gagging the public, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th March, observes:- When the Press Act was condemned as a repressive measure setting at naught one of the fundamental rights of the people, even when India was subject to the rule

of the officials in the Empire, how can this Act be consistantly continued in the Statute Book now, when the British Government have promised responsible government and have also opened the way therefore? If it is true that responsible government will be granted, newspapers should be allowed to express their opinions freely within constitutional limits. It is accepted in all countries having responsible government that it should not be deemed to be illegal to point out the merits and demerits of the actions of the Government and their policy. It can be said that there is now no newspaper in India that has not been caught in the net of the Press Act. Indescribable are the hardships caused to papers like the BHAKTAN by this cruel and repressive law. Every one is anxiously expecting the result of the order issued to the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the District Magistrate to reconsider the action taken by them in regard to the newspapers. But the return of the securities or any temporary relief will not give satisfaction to the Indians now. The best course for the Government now will be to repeal altogether the Press Act in view of the times. Should not India which occupies an equal position with the other countries comprised in the British Empire, in the League of Nations and the Peace Conference, be on par with them in the matter of liberty of the Press also? The time for the introduction of repressive measures has gone, Dame India has started on her way to reach the shrine of the Goddess of Liberty. It is not fair to block her way with the throny fence of the Press Act. It is from the day on which this Act is repealed, the sons of Bharata will live a free life.

The same paper also reminds the peopleof the Press Act day, the 5th of March, and asks them to agitate to get rid of the venomous Press Act that is binding the liberty of India.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th March, also refers to the Press Act day and remarking that, while newspapers are found to be an essential help to the Government in western countries where the Government depend upon the support of the people, they are not considered to be so helpful in India as the Government here do not require the support of the people and their ciriticism therefore provokes the authorities, observes:- The Government of India who stated four years ago that the Press Act could be neither repealed nor amended have now declared their intention of amending it on the lines suggested by Sir P.S. Sivaswami Ayyar. After some time more, they are sure to think of repealing the Act. Sir Sivaswami Ayyar's contention is that, if a court of law comes to the conclusion that a newspaper has expressed any objectionable opinion or published any such matter, such a paper should be asked to furnish security. Granting that an amendment is made to this effect, we think the position of the papers would become worse. When once a separate law is framed in regard to offences committed by newspapers and the power of enforcing it is given to the Government, it will be quite natural for a court to abide by the opinion of the Government as the contention of the Government will always be that the objectionable article in question has rendered administration difficult and the court will not take up the responsibility of pronouncing upon this point. Under existing conditions, there is at least the possibility of a cry being raised against the action of the executing officials. If such ~~attention~~ action is approved by court of law, there will be no room even for this. Further, the attitude of the executive officials may change with time or will depend on the temperament of each individual officer. But the decision of a court will fix once for all what constitutes an offence and thus the papers will be deprived of the benefit they may have by a change in the personnel or the attitude of executive officials. It was once stated by Mr. Montagu that, until responsible

government was granted to the people, the newspapers should be kept under control. But administration can improve and the people can reach the goal of responsible government step by step only if the newspapers are free to criticise administrative measures. If the papers are not to have freedom until responsible government is established, it will only retard and not further the establishment of such a government. Excepting for a few years, the newspapers have been free during last 150 years of British rule in India. But there has been no responsible government. So, the argument that the papers cannot be granted freedom until the establishment of responsible government appears contrary to experience. If the presses and the newspapers are to discharge their duty in such a manner as to help the proper conduct of administration, the Press Act should be repealed completely. If the authorities are not inclined to do this, it will only give room for the impression that they are not inclined to allow India to proceed towards responsible government.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 6th March, refers to the meeting held under the auspices of the Mahajana Sabha, Madras, to condemn the Press Act, and, remarking that this Act should go if the country is to be benefited by the reforms, declares that there is no use ~~of~~ in amending it as suggested by the Government.

55. Full liberty to Mr. Bharati.

While expressing its great satisfaction at all the restrictions imposed on Mr. Subrahmanya Bharati having been removed by the Government, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th March, is at a loss to know why the cases of Mr. V.V.S. Ayyar and others in exile at Pondicherry have not also been considered and implores Lord Willingdon to grant liberty to these people also.

The Home Rule League At Vengandur.

56. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th March, publishes the proceedings of the anniversary of the Home Rule league at Vengandur in the South Arcot district in which Mr. T.V. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliyar is said to have delivered a speech on the present condition. The following observations find place in it among others:- Our present condition is only one of slavery, and this has spoiled all our principles. We should get rid of this and secure liberty. Our object in this is not to rob or injure another country.. .. The more foreign civilization spreads in this country, the more are we immersed in slavery.. .. .. The atrocities that were committed in the Punjab were due only to our slavish condition. To get rid of this, you should have a greater attachment to your (~~reforms have not resulted in any~~) country..... Be prepared to sacrifice life, body and wealth....The reforms have not resulted in any other advantage than the slight enlargement of the Legislative Councils. It is only useless people tha that will fill this council. So no good will come out of it, and it may lead to harm. The system of diarchy has been introduced only to declare the Indians unfit for administration. I predict that these reforms will result only in evil... We should strive till we get rid of slavery.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th March, also publishes the proceedings of this anniversary. But in this paper, the observations mentioned above do not occur in the same form in the speech of Mr. T.V.Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, while the speech said to have been delivered by Mr. Satyamurti on the same occasion is also reproduced, which containes the following statements among others:- We are afraid of the Europeans We are terrified at the sight of a constable. We should understand that, as these receive the income tax and other taxes paid by us, they should serve us..... The Europeans came here originally, for no other purpose than to drain the country

of its gold..... Some find fault with the ancient Hindu and Muhammadan Kings that they afflicted the people....But were they like some of the English Bureaucrats? Did they run away from this country after making money during a short stay here?....Our fall is ~~xxxxxx~~ due to our slavish nature.... When the people of every European country are leading a happy life and occupying a lofty position, how long are we to be enslaved like this and die at the age of 23? So SWARAJ is essential for our acquiring liberty.

The labour problem.

59. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th March, writes the following effect:- The contention of the Anglo-Indian critics that the labour unrest is the outcome of the work of political agitators is baseless.... It is entirely the result of economic conditions. Farsighted-persons like Ruskin foresaw that western industrialism which had made machines of labourers for the sole benefit of the mill-owner would culminate in this evil, and their critics like Frederic Harrison charged them with utter ignorance of the Principles of political economy. The healthy development of man has been sacrificed for the rise of industries..... The labourers have now realised their position, and the present unrest is entirely due to this awakening. .. .. .. Aryan philosophy teaches than man must become the master and not the slave of his desires. .. .. .. Western people have multiplied their enjoyments, and become slaves to them. .. .. .. Only capitalists could estalish factories required to meet these multiplied wants of man, and labourers had to work under conditions which were highly prejudicial to their physical, moral and spiritual well being. Though the conditions in some factories were tolerable, the inherent evils of the factory system could not be obviated by mill-owners, however philanthropic they might be. What was the result? The system has made the

the capitalists weathier and contributed to the prosperity of the middle classes. .. .. .. Competition which originally sprang up among the mill-owners has become international.. .. ... The Krupp factory filled w the world with machines of destruction and France and Belgium became the objects of it. The labourers now proclaim their freedom as a protest against this pernicious system... ... ... The Western mill-owners have, likewise, multiplied the wants of the Indians and India is flooded with foreign goods ... Bombay has copied the factory system of the west and unrest has broken out among the labourers in the Indian Mills in Bombay. .. .. The New India says that strikes may commence in the Buckingham and Cannatic Mills on Tuesday next..... There can be no lasting peace without a permanent solution arrived at of this problem. The western world is nonplussed unable to find a solution and is watching with dismay the rise of Bolshevism; but she is unable to indicate remedies. The labour problem is assuming various forms. It originally started in Europe as it does now in India in the form of a desire for higher wages. It next passed into a desire for partnership and is now manifesting itself as a desire for labour-mastery over industries and the nationalisation of mines etc.,. There is no knowing where it may land the world. .. .. .. Co-operative movement which is solely materialistic, has proved to be a partial remedy. .. .. .. Caste In India whatever other evils it may have led to, could effect a satisfactory solution of the labour problem; but it has outlived its time. All the same, India is the country which is competent to discover a solution of this problem, inasmuch as spiritual bliss, and not mere wealth, is her ideal.

60. Referring/ in an article th under this heading to the strange punishment given by Mr. Frazer, the Additional Sessions Judge of Barisal, to a Muhammadan, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th March, Observes:- The Mandate of Mr. Frazer is like that of General Dyer. We donot know how many more such officers exist?

Another Dyer.

61. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 5th March, gives in Telugu what Mr. Neville, the Solicitor that visited Amritsar and was slighted by some Europeans, wrote on the subject in the DAILY NEWS, LONDON, which contains the following among others statements:-.. .. .. .. The action of the Government of India and that of the Government of Punjab have to be explained. Can the Hunter Committee appointed by the Government of India freely examine the action of the Government? .. ..

The Hunter Committee.

64. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th March, gives in Telugu, What Mr. Gandhi observes about the decision of the ~~(advocating the)~~ Privy Council in the matter, in the YOUNG INDIA, advocating the release, by the Governments of the Punjab and of the Central Provinces, of the offenders in the cases.

The Amritsar appeals and Mahatma Gandhi.

72. Under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 6th March, says:- The papers write that in Russia a great revolution is going on in the name of BOLSHEVISM. We hear conflicting stories about this revolution. Under the circumstances the nature of this movement will be understood to some extent if we knowabout the life and doctrines of the leader of this movement.

The life-sketch of the Bolshevik Leader.

The paper then gives a life sketch of Lenin, which Contains .. .. .. nobody can consider him to be a great man from his figure. There is much mildness in his face. There will ~~always~~ always be a smile playing on his lips. A doubt will arise as to whether such a man could have the Bolshevik atrocities perpetrated. .. .. .. Lenin may not be cruel by nature. But as the mad idea that the whole world should accept this doctrines has taken hold of his mind, he does not hesitate to commit any cruel act. In order to achieve his end, he adopts any means. There is no doubt that he is personally unselfish. He is not at all greedy. He is unequalled in his politeness to others. He will converse even with ~~t~~his foe with great courtesy and humility.

77. Referring to the offer by the Government of Rs.50,000 to Miss Sherwood, the DESABHIMANI, of the 29th Febraury, observes:- Were there not many others, Indian and non-Indian, who had been exposed to similar treatment? Were similar offers made to them. Had that liberal-hearted lady not decline the offer, what a great loss would the tax-payers have been put to? What the MARWAR merchant who similarly suffered during the time of Sir Edward Baker, offered such compensation. .. .. .. ~~Wxxxxxx~~ We do not think that such methods are adopted anywhere else.

Miss Sherwood.

78. Under this heading, the DESABHIMANI, of the 29th Febraury, writes to the following effect:- The problem is hard to be solved by the the Imperial Government, and the Government of India. They are beset with difficulties on both sides -- their obligations for their race on ~~the ha~~ one hand, and the agitation of the Indians on the other. .... After seeing the letter of the Editor to the SWADESAMITRAN in the HINDU it appears needless that Indians should go to

Indians and British Guiana and Fiji Islands.

British Guiana, etc. .. .. British Guiana wants agricultural labourers, and the solicitude that the people of that country show to have the Indians in their country is due to this. The conditions in that country are not favourable to to the coloured races. The place is unhealthy and 27 per cent of the labourers that had gone there returned to India. Many are perishing. The Inquiry Committee of 1897 says that the white people treated the coloured people (~~treat the co~~) with apathy and contempt. The political conditions also do not seem to be favourable. .. .. Until India gets complete ~~xxxxxx~~ self-government as in the colonies, her people will not be treated by the white people as their equals....... India wants her men for herself .. .. .. Our leaders will do well to tell the deputations that they regret their inability to help them.

The essence of Prussianism.

80. Protesting agianst the exclusion of the members of the National Congress from the Reforms Advisory Committee appointed by the Imperial Government and the Madras Government, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 5th March, under the heading, "The illiberality of the bureaucrats." Writes:---
The sympathetic attitude of the bureaucrat, in releasing the political offenders and is cancelling the security orders under the Press Act, is no doubt in accord with the wishes of His Majesty that the people and the Government should mutually co-operate and work the administrative machinery. But, in practice, the policy of the bureaucracy is one-sided, narrow and partial. When the new era under the reforms is about to begin when the authorities should elicit the opinion and secure the co-operation of all parties, it is curious that the bureacurat, instead of holding the balance even between the several political parties, should identify himself with only some. The Imperial Government and the Madras Government

have included only the Moderates in the Advisory Committee and excluded the members of the Congress lite so many untouchables. In the work of political reform relating to the welfare of the whole country, the presence of all parties(is regarding the absence of the members of the Congressparty, in this) is desirable. The official reply to a question in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the absence of the members of the Congress party, in this committee, no doubt shows how clever the bureaucrats are in wording their replies, but, in the present case, it also shows how illiberal they are.

III. LEGISLATION.

84. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 5th March, writes to the following effect:-

The Press Act.

The Press Act was originally passed to punish anarchical papers such as the YUGANTAR. It was for this reason that Gokhale gave his vote for it and the Hon'ble Sir S.P. Sinha advocated the measure. The safe-guards indicated by the latter proved to be a myth, later on, and the Act came to be used against papers carrying on constitutional agitation. .. .. .. The papers had to be in the constant dread of anything that may befall them at any moment. Can the liberty of the Press grow under such menacing circumstances? This failure of the Press to properly discharge its duties is a source of loss both to the rulers and the ruled .. ..As the liberty of the Press is curtailed, unrest grows, bringing about a critical situation. .. .. .. It is incumbent on the rulers and the ruled alike to maintain the liberty of the press. We may say that the rulers have failed in their duty, by not having yet abolished the Press Act. .. .. .. It would have afforded some consolation if the Press Act had equally affected the Indian and the Anglo-Indian papers. No Anglo-Indian paper has yet been made an object of the Press Act and therefore

they bless it. .. .. .. Was there any limit to the abuse of Mr. Montagu~~(by the Anglo-Indian paper has yet been made)~~ by the Anglo-Indian papers? Has not the MADRAS MAIL strongly abused Mr. Montagu? Has it not abused His Excellency the Viceroy in connexion with the release of Mrs. Besant from internment? .. .. .. None of these papers, including the STATESMAN that has recently published a false report against Mr. Montagu, have been punished. Lord Sinha himself since realised the evil which resulted the country from the Press Act and explained it in the Bombay Congress. .. .. .. The Government have not despite the opinion of Sir L. Jenkins and Sir Abdul Rahim, been prepared to abolish the Press Act. .. .. .. It is strange that Sir William Vincent should attach undue importance to the amendments proposed by Sir P. Sivaswamy Ayyar, ~~(is not defi)~~ when the moderates themselves do not approve them and are for the repeal of the Press Act. .. .. .. "The objectionable matter" referred ~~by~~ to by Sir P. Sivaswami Ayyar, is not defined. If it means what is mentioned in sections 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, there is no need for separate legislation. If it means what is mentioned in section 4 of the Press Act, its all - comprehending scope remains. .. .. .. The liberty of the Press cannot be resorted by slight amendments in the Act. India must proclaim loudly with one voice that the Press Act must be completely repealed. .. .. .. The Reform Act has not undertaken to safeguard all the primary rights of the people, without which no reforms, however liberal, can give satisfaction. .. .. .. The reply of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to the Press Deputation that waited on him on the 5th of March 1917, was very disappointing. It showed what sympathy His Excellency had for the rights of the people. .. May the 5th March inspire the people with fresh zeal for action, and lead to the speedy attainment of their desire!

For the week ending 20th March 1920.

No.12 of ~~the~~ 1920.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

8. Ref~~erring to the alarmi~~ng telegrams received about the present sit

4. Indians in South Africa1

Remarking that the statement of Mr. Montagu that some Indian representatives also will be present at the inquiry to be instituted in South Africa has proved to be false, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th March, characterises as curious the reply of Mr. Fisher to a question on this po point in the House of Commons, that the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu were highly disappointed in the matter as they found it impossible at the last moment to send Indian representatives along ~~along~~ with Sir Benjamin Robertson and that neither the Government of India nor that of South Africa were responsible for it and observes:- Who is responsible then for Indian Representatives not attending the inquiry? Long ago Mr. Montagu gave the assurance that Indian representatives would have seats on the commission has, after a great delay, started work only now and Sir Benjamin Robertson, the representative of the Government of India, has just reached South Africa. It is not known why the Government of India and the Secretary of State forgot till now about their duty to send Indian representatives atonce and can even arrange to have the inquiry deferred till these representative reach South Africa. Further, it will be useless for this commission to conduct its inquiry in the absence of Indian representatives. The scope of the commission is already defective, in that it is to consider the privileges of the Asiatics in general and not those of the Indians specially, seeing that the latter are the subjets of the British Empire. Judging from these things, we can easily guess what the result of the inquiry be.

The SWADESAMITRAN? of the 11th March, also refers to this subject and, pointing to the information given by the TIMES OF INDIA that the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar who had consented to go with Sir Bengamin, declined at the last moment, adds:- Is the Hon'ble Mr. Sastriyar the only person in India fit to go with Sir Benjamin Robertson, or is there any rule that no one else than the successor of the Late Mr. Gokhale in the Servant of India Society should proceed to South Africa as a mediator? If not, are there not Indians who can be sent in his place at least as an alternative? Though this might have happened at the last moment, was it found impossible to send some representatives in the steamer that left subsequently? We expect a communique from the Government of India giving information on these points.

5. Referring to the reply to the Under Secretary for the colonies to a question in the House of Commons regarding the disturbances in the Fiji Islands, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th March, remarks that this does not give the full details about the disturbances, as it makes no reference to the news that the strike was due to a political agitation and that some Indian leaders, who incited it, would be deported and adds that it is worth wholly improper on the part of the Fiji Government to have declined to accede to the request of the Indians there that some leaders from here should be appointed members of the commission of inquiry and to have included in the commission some Indians in the Islands.

The Indians in the Fiji Islands.

6. Remarking that the Khalifate problem stands foremost among the many items causing anxiety to India, the DESABHAKTAN of the 10th March, wants it to be considered as an All India question and not as one affecting the Moslems alone,

The Khilafat Day.

Khil.

and quoting with approval an extract from the appeal of ~~Mr. Gan~~ Mr. Gandhi in this matter, exhorts both the Hindus and the Muhmmadans to observe Friday the 19th March 1920 as a day of fast.

The Andhrapatrika of the 18th March, writes under this heading:--

The Khalifate Day. Tomorrow will be published the firm view of India on the Khalifate problem. Nowhere else in the world are there so many Muhammadans as in the British Empire and so England must try her best to solve the Turkish problem in conformity with the wishes of the Muhammadans. England wields the greatest influence among the allies and if she earnestly works in conformity with the wishes of India, the Muhammadans will be conciliated, and world's peace, secured. The strength of the Empire will grow greater still. May God guide the English aright, listening to the prayers of the people all over the country tomorrow!

The Swadesamitran, of the 13th March, publishes a lecture said to have delivered by Krishnaswami Sarma at Madura on the 10th idem, on the Khalifate question, wherein he is reported to have appealed for the co-operation of the Hindus with the Muhammadans in the matter of the Khalifate and exhorted them to observe the 19th idem as a day of ~~the~~ fast and cessation of work.

The Khilifate day.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 13th March, also exhorts the people to observe the Khalifate day on the 19th idem and act on the advice of Mr. Gandhi, while the Swadesamitran, of the 15th and 16th March, publish strongly worded appeals to this effect from the pen of correspondents. In the latter appeal, the Moslems are asked to communicate to the authorities that, if the questiin of the control of the Moskems sacred places is decided unfavourably to the Moslem faith,

they may have to sever their connextion with the government in certain respects.

The Swadesamitran, of the 17th March, also contains a fervent appeal on this subject by one Bhupati of Salem, in which he exhorts the Moslems to sacrifice everything for the Khalifate and the Hindus and the Moslems not to give up their point until there is life in their body.

The writer makes a spirited appeal to the Muslim public

Khalifate day.

to organise a general strike on the 19th March, fearlessly display their sentiments and spread a general enthusiasm in their community. Fear not physical force. The enemies of Islam are fully intent upon plundering your home.

The writer quotes certain texts and asks Mussalmans to ~~xxxixt~~ strictly abide by them and make known their feeling to the Secretary of State and the Premier, viz., that unless their object is fulfilled they will not remain silent, and that they prefer a death to life without honour.

The Khalifate day.

Referring to Muslim agitation consequent on uncertainty of settlement of the Khalifate question and to the opportunity which the Government of India and Provincial Governments have already had to guage the strength of that agitation, the Malabar Islam of the 5th March, has an article exactly corresponding to that of Swadesamitran, dated 2nd March, reported on page 297 of Report No.11 of 1920.

Writing on the subject of the Khalifate, the Kerala Chandrika, of the 2nd March, observes that there is no doubt that the desire of the Europeans to oust Turkey from Europe is unjust and is prompted by envy.

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10. Under this heading, the Andrapatrika, of the 13th March, writes:--Matters have been coming to a crisis. Constantinople is being occupied by the allied forces............

The Turkish problem.

The Council of War have adopted a resolution that the allies should forthwith occupy the important positions in Europeanx Turkey and Asiastic Turkey. These acts may serve to fan the religious hatred between the Muhammadans and the Christians all the world over. Such a development is subversive of the peace of the world in general and that of India in particular. The complaints of the Indian Moslems are not listened to. The 19th instant will be observed all over India as the Khalifate day. We pray that God will mitigate the frenzy of the western people and grant them peace of mind, so that the present crisis may pass away at least now.

Commenting upon the last week's telegrams regarding the fate of Constantinople and the agitation in England against allowing Turkey to remain in Europe any longer, the Mysore Star,. of the 14th March, refers to the strongly-worded resolutions passed at the recent Khalifate conference at Calcutta, and continues:--If the Supreme Council, without making the slightest allowance for Muhammadan feeling on the subject, decide to drive Turkey away bag and baggage from Europe, we need hardly say that it will creat deep discontentment among the orthodox Moslems in India, expecially so because they know that it is the Christian missionaries and the English people that are at the bottom of it. It is certainly not possible to allow the Turkish Empire to remain in its pre-war condition, but Constantinople could have been allowed, as suggested by Mr.Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy, to remain in the hands of the Sultan, and the rest could have been settled in any manner deemed best. The British Empire

has the largest number of Muhammadans under its rule. Further, people of other religions also are in sympathy with the Muhammadans in this respect. The Government of India and the Secretary of State are also favourably disposed towards them, and lastly, even the British Chambers of Commerce in India have condemned the anti-Turkish activities of the English people and the missionaries and manifested their sympathetic attitude towards the Muhammadans. If, in spite of all this, the English Statesmen and the Supreme Council close their eyes and act altogether contrary to the wishes of the Muhammadnas, we fear that they will be paving the way for another terrific world revolution. The Bolsheviks who have already overrun the whole of Russia, will not fail to avail themselves of this opportunity to extend their operations to India when they come to know of the discontent of the Indian Muhammadans. The British rulers as well as the allied powers will then have to undergo once more various losses and difficulties and that the world, already worn out, will have to face another great calamity. The war just ended was one for land. Is it right to start a religious war which will be far more terrific? If the Supreme Council who have established peace at great self-sacrifice, fail to use their farsightednes in this little affair, they will be held responsible for all future calamities. It behoves great politicians like Mr.Lloyd George and others and our peace-loving Emperor to assert their independent spirit and see that the original decision of the Supreme Council is not set at nought, and thus earn the everlasting gratitude of the Moslem world.

Com. 12. Extracting, in an article under this heading, a portion of Mr. Lloyd George's speech in

Bolsheviks.

the Parliament on the 9th February, the Bharatamata, of the 18th February, received on the 4th March 1920), remarks:-- It comes about, as if by magic, that Bolsheviks, who have been hitherto considered as murderers, now turn out to be well behaved, and worthy, to conclude a peace with, by the British Government who have been supposed to go to war wit them Does this not show the influence of time?

Khl. 13. The Qaumi Report, of the 6th March, referring to the agitation inaugurated by the Archbishop of

Khalifate Day - Friday the 19th March,

~~referring to the agitation inaugurated by the Archbishop of~~ Canterbury and Lord Robert Cecil and his school in the cause of the cross, appeals to the Muhammadan public to impress the fact on their bigoted voices:-- The writer, referring to the resolutions passed at the Khalifate Conference held at Calcutta, asks all Muslim National Associations and Khalifate Communitees to start making preparations of once and announce and appointment of Khalifat Day in all the towns and villages.

The Second Khalifate day.

x 14. In the course of an article under the heading 'the Second Khalifate day', the Malabar Islam, of the 12th March reproduces in substance the remarks of the Swadesamitran, of the 8th March, reported on page 298 of report No.11, and adds:--That all other countries under Turkey (except Thrace and Asia Minor) be granted self-government. But instead of placing them under the control of Christian countries let them be allowed to continue under the supervision of Turkey. If not it will certainly turn out xixmx calamitous in future.

What should be done on the 19th March?

15. The Qaumi Report, of the 9th March, referring to the fatal decrees passed by the Archbishop of of Canterbury and to the unjust attacks made by Mr.Lloyd George on Islam, appeals to Muhammadans on behalf of Islam to organise a general strike, to adopt preventive measures and to display their courage and enthusiasm in support of Islam, and warns them to wake up and prepare for making real sacrifices.

Thw writer emphasises the importance of the resolutions passed by the Khalifate Conference at Calcutta, and appeals to Muhammadans to start a wide-spread agitation from the 29th instant (sic) to suspend all xx work on the Khalifate day and to impress on the minds of the enemies of Islam that Muhammadans still possess vitality and the qualities of vigilance, enthusiasm, unity, self-sacrifice, and courage, and finish what they begin.

In conclusion, the writer invites all Khalifate Committees and National Associations to organise a general strike in their respective localities as well as in the neighbouring villages through their agents.

Com 16. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 9th March, expresses surprise at the views expressed by General Gough at a meeting held in London regarding the Bolsheviks that they are a civilized governing people, who had been once dubbed plunderers, deceivers and tyrants. It observes:--We cannot, in civilized age, on the sole evidence of General Gough, favour these barbarians. The journalistic world knows full well what atrocities have been committed by these people in Central Asia and South Russia. From the religious standpoint Muhammadans cannot be friendly with people who are spreading mischief and wickedness in the world-

"Russia: The Reds and the Whites."

NCS 21. Referring to the reprimand of the High Court, the Andhrapatrika, of the 13th March, observes:-- In the absence of a copy of the judgment, we cannot go into a discussion of the grounds. It is very unfair to condemn the conduct of Mr.Gandhi while no punishment is given. It has to be doubted whether the High Court could find grounds for condemning Mr.Gandhi's conduct. The Bombay High Court have of late been showing unnecessary interference. They have recently interfered with the Satyagraha movement. Their decision must cause much pain to the mind of a pure hearted person like Mr.Gandhi, and this is not in keeping with the deginity of the High Court.

Mr.Gandhi.

AB

The necessity of Home Rule for India.

27. In the course of an article in the Bhajekeralam, of the 5th March, under the heading the necessity of Home Rule for India' the writer severely condemns the present system of education, characterises the English schools as institutions doing the greatest harm to India as they denationalise Indians and lead them astray from their paths of dharma, and wishes that these institutions were cast into the sea or burned like plague-infected articles. He thinks that there is nothing more harmful to India than these English schools. Even laws like the Rowlatt Act, and administrators like General Dyer can be tolerated, but the evil resulting from this undesirable spread of the English language far exceeds these. It is disgraceful that Indians should for the sake of education depend upon a foreign language and be ungrateful to their ancestors. Unless India get self government, Indians will never be able to revive their arts, and sciences and language which are now half-dead. In its issue of the 13th March the same paper points out that the present system of education and the expenditure of litigation are the causes of India's poverty and dwells upon the necessity of granting self-government to India to remedy this defect.

K (General)

33, Referring to the statement of Sir P.S.Sivaswami that, if a speedy transmission of telegrams between India and England is secured, the administration will improve in a way, the Swadesamitran, of the 9th March, points to the news furnished by the Democrat that though it was not possible to communicate the actions of General Dyer and others to England by means of telegrams, the Government of India have telegraphed the full text of the report of the Hunter Committee to England and that the report will be published simultaneously in the two countries by the first week of April, and remarks that perhaps the Hunter Committee's report is communicated with such haste so as to forestall the Congress Committee's report, which is likely to be published soon.

The Punjab disturbances.

The Kanthirava, of the 16th March, referring to the comments appearing in the Home papers regarding the Punjab excesses, observes:--

If the British people cannot bring to justice one at least of these beasts in human form who carried out such unprecedented and terrific excesses in the Punjab and if they cannot admonish him who was responsible for keeping them in the dark for so long a time, the British indignation that we read of in the newspapers is either impotent or only a pretence. Till now, the responsibility of the British Parliament in regard to the welfare of India has been quite unreal. If the present indignation also should turn out to be empty, no further evidence is necessary to show that the British people are still fast asleep in regard to the fulfilment of their duty by India.

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34. Quoting the remark of Mr.Gandhi at the protest meeting held in Bombay against the Press Act, that the action of the Gøvernment in suppressing newspapers, which are like their very eyes, resembles that of the ortrich, which considers that, by closing its eyes, the dangers facing if will disappear, the Swadesamitran, of the 9th March, remarks:--The suppression of newspapers will only deprive the government of a means to ascertain the real state of affairs; for it is the newspapers that enable the Government to be in close touch with the real condition of the country. But perhaps, the Government are more eager to wield the sceptre in an aerial castle than to acquaint themselves with the truth.

The Press Act and the newspapers.

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35. The Swadesamitran, of the 9th March, reproduces in Tamil a communication from an Englishman to to the Town Topics of London, in which the following statements find place:--A set of officials are ruling over India, who, considering their offices as their hereditary property, bequeath them to their sons, care only for their own interests and prestige and pay the least attention to those of the British Empire. It is the Government in India that lacks competency* completely. Their officials command no credit, though they do not embezzle Government money like the servants of the East India Company. Mr.Montagu's Reforms Act is quite right so far as it goes; but it is unfortunately not quite adequate. As the Act has been rendered lifeless so as to be agreeable to the privileges and the wrong motions of the rulers, the condition of India will not be altered in any way by it. As long as the Rowlatt Act is in force, how can India have self-government or Home Rule.

The bureaucracy and India.

* May also mean integrity?

38. The Desabhaktan, of the 10th March, publishes a lecture said to have been delivered by Mr. T.V.Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, the editor of the paper, at Tiruchengodu on the 7th idem, in the course of which the following observations find place among others:--The present policy is for the strong to oppress the weak and rob them. Even birds and beasts enjoy liberty. So it is necessary for man to obtain it. ..... The present situation is that the Indians are in a slavish condition and no one will heed their prayer on account of this. If, without being slaves, we live like men, due regard will be paid to us. So we should try to get rid of this slavery...... We became slaves, as we allowed others to rule over us. We have to put up with this condition and insult, on account of our having forgotten our country and language and the want of union among us. It is Europeans that now govern us. Our people are carried away by the white colour of these Europeans and are changing their very lives, deeming the Europeans to be celestials. This is what has brought us to a slavish condition.........To get rid of this, we should resort to swadeshism...........While the westerns are leading a happy life with full liberty both here and in other places like the Fiji Islands, we are insulted much, though we can show our manliness..........In the Punjab, two of our women were dragged in the street, made to crawl thereon and shot down. We have become reduced to this miserable position........... When, even after lavishing men and money in the war, we have not got rid of our slavish condition, the reforms granted to us are of no avail. Dames America, England, France and Japan are seated on their thrones, clad in gorgeous attire and wearing crowns; but we do not see among them mother Bharata, whose children number 33 crores. It may be due to her want of a beautiful dress or a crown. But it is due mainly to our being slaves. The land of the Himâlayas, the

Mr. T.V.Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar at Tiruchengodu.

mainly to our being slaves. The land of the Himalayas, the Punjab, the land of the Ganges and the Kaveri has been reduced to a slavish condition!

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39. It points again to the reply of the Government to the interpellation about the Nellore disturbances, that the report of Mr. Couchman is still under their consideration and that no records connected therewith can be published and observes:

The current session of the Local Legislative Council.

We are exceedingly surprised to hear that, though it is now more than six months nearly since the disturbances occurred, the report of the officer who was appointed to inquire about them is still under consideration. It appears that Mr.Couchman conducted his investigations in Nellore only for about 3 or 4 days; still, the report thereon has not yet seen the light of day: How many years more will it take for this report to come out? Need we point out to the Government that the public are very anxious about this report?

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41. In the course of a leader under this heading the Desabhaktan, of the 11th March, takes exception to the classification of these classes into three divisions by the Labour Commissioner in a communique recently issued by him and observes:-- The communique does not state definitely who the "untouchables" are. ~~There~~

The depressed classes.

~~doesxnot~~ There does not seem to ~~be~~ be any separate class like the "untouchables" in India. It is those who deem themselves to be a higher class that do not touch others who are deemed by them to belong to a lower class. Judged from this standpoint who are to be regarded as the "untouchables"? The Government should note this. It is the Panchamas that are mostly considered to be the depressed classes now. Though several are striving to ameliorate their condition in many directions, their efforts do not seem to have proved successful. So these classes should realize this and try to better their condition themselves. We want that they should be very careful with those that try to deceive them by offering them pecuniary aid. The depressed classes will have not less than six seats in the new Legislative Council. As there are several educated men among the Panchamas, who come under these classes, we hope the Government will choose their representatives from among themselves. Rumour goes that European Missionaries will be nominated as representatives of these classes on the ground that there are not many among them who can get into the Legislative Council. We do not know how far this is true. But we would warn the depressed classes that, if this is true, they would not at all improve in this age. It is contrary to justice that, when there are cultured people among these classes, others should be nominated to represent them.

The depressed classes.

Referring, under this heading to Mr.Paddison's report on the subject the Andhrapatrika, of the 10th March, observes:--

..........In Mr.Paddison's opinion, it is not fair that the new privileges accorded to a Panchama are not extended to the Christian convert. We cannot help holding that Mr.Paddison's view is incorrect. The Christians have special privileges, which are not shared by the Panchamas. A Christian convert is not reckoned as an untouchable. It is not fair that a Christian convert should enjoy the privileges of both the Christians and the Hindus.

Fundamental rights.

44. In a leader under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 11th March, discusses at length the view of the moderates that a declaration of the fundamental rights of the people in law will operate as a clog upon the exercise of the full privileges conferred by the reforms and, quoting authority from the history of England to prove that such rights have practically been recognised there, observes:-- Though it was generally believed that the Indians, being British subjects, had all the privileges of the latter and this view was confirmed by the Acts of 1813 and 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, recent events have created doubts in this matter. Antiquated regulations have been brought into use and repressive measures are being passed by the executive Government in quick succession and the Privy Council has just decided that the Viceroy has the power to act as he likes in curtailing the rights of the people in several ways by suspending all ordinary laws and having resort to

~~Maxxtatxtaxx~~

Martial Law. It is at this juncture that the fundamental rights of the people should not get caught in the hands of the executive officials or the Legislative Council, where they predominate. It is therefore the earnest payer of all true patriots and those that seek the welfare of the country that the Parliament should not hesitate in the least to protect these rights by means of legislation. Moderates being in a position to know the secret motive of those in authority, may plead as suits the occasion. But the nationalists care only for the interests of the country and are therefore bond to utilise the opportunities available under the new reforms for declaring these rights, which are essential for the progress of the country.

45.

The meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Expressing its regret at the failure of the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr.Patel at this meeting about the "repressive" laws, the Desabhaktan, of the 12th March, says:--We do not see why the Government should still be swayed by the devil of suspicion. There is no doubt that the sentiments expressed by Sir William Vincent in replying to this resolution will wound the feelings of the Indians. It is really surprising that the bureaucratic diety has not yet been pleased to get rid of laws which have been playing havoc with thousands of the sons of Bharata. It is not known what further sacrifices this diety is expecting and when it will be appeased. It is after weighing the trend of the times, the condition of the world and the significance of the Royal Proclamation, that our representatives came to the conclusion that "repressive laws are no longer necessary," and

brought forward a resolution to be done with them. But the bureaucracy bestow no thought on any of these things and serve as examples of persistent obstinacy. The cloud of the words of Sir William Vincent has appeared just at the time when the moonlight of Royal clemency is to shine on India and the sons of Bharata are to walk in it. What can be done? We would impress on Lord Chelmsford that a new era cannot dawn upon India unless the repressive laws go. The Hon'ble Mr.Patel did not want the complete abolition of such laws but only a committee to decide which of them shall go and which shall remain. That Lord Chelmsford's party did not accede even to this request is not laudable. We ask with the Hon'ble Messrs.Patel and Chanda what necessity there is for the Regulation of 1818, introduced at a time when the British Government had just been established in India, to continue even now when the Government has taken a firm root. We cannot understand the rationale of the agreement adduced by Sir William Vincent that, if a committee was appointed as desired, it would weaken the policy of the Government in several ways and leave very little time to attend to other business. What other business have the Government of India than this? It is not only on the part of a Government, who appoint commissions to inquire about small matters, to hesitate to do so in the case of an affair, which will secure the peace of the country. Perhaps the duty of officials, receiving their salaries from the public revenues, is only to create repressive laws and increase their number by offering false reasons. Sir William points out that many of the laws referred to by the mover of the resolution exist only on paper and that the desire of the Government is to give full effect to the Royal Proclamation. Why should a Government, who are prepared to act according to the Proclamation, indifferently reject a resolution about the repressive laws? We brush aside the words of Sir William about Proclamation as empty ones. We do

We do not understand his object in blabbing such words, without realising that the best way of giving effect to the proclamation is to do away with the repressive laws. It was stated that the Press Act would be amended as suggested by Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar and that the Government would be glad to receive a deputation from the Press representatives. What is this juggling about? Sir William evidently forgets the insult offered to the press representatives by Lord Chelmsford. This gentleman wants the council to consider whether those released as a result of the Royal clemency are reciprocating the attitude of the Government and ask the Members to look into the papers on the table secretly. Why not their names be mentioned openly? Why are they afraid to do so? Sir William raises a plaintive cry that that the Council should no vote for the resolution, as the position of the Government is very dangerous on account of the attitude of the Mussalmans regarding Turkey and the prevalence of anarchism in Central Asia. We will not shed tears for this foolish cry. The whole world cannot shake the British Kingdom, if the repressive laws in India are repealed and the loyal sons of Bharata are treated kindly. To creat discontent in the country and pass repressive laws and then to cry out that the Government is in danger is nothing but pretention. It is regrettable that the Government are not inclined to alide by the wishes of the popular representatives even at this juncture. The Hon'ble Mr.Patel concluded his speech by pointing out that it was the best opportunity to consider the question raised by him. This is realised by the popular representative but not by Lord Chelmsford's Government. The failure of this resolution will increase discontent in the country day by day. Even those who wanted to co-operate with the Government will change their mind a bit and this change will not usher a new era into India. It is hard indeed for

the rulers and the ruled to a gree, as long as the repressive laws continue. All these are due only to the fact of Lord Chelmsford not having been recalled yet. So he should go, as well as the repressive laws.

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47. ~~Thexx~~ Even among students, a difference is observed between an Indian and an Englishman.

The Home Rule League at Vengandur. 7

The Indian prisoner is treated differently from the English one. This difference is maintained even in trains. In service too, an Englishman does less work and draws a higher salary than the Indian. All this is due to the difference in colour and we cannot tolerate such insult. The only remedy for this is a change in the system of administration. No foreigner has any right to interfere in our administration. It is the elected representatives that should wield power..........We should not be afraid of the Englishmen.........There is a wrong notion in this country that they are a superior race. There is no foundation at all for it ....The habit prevailing among the Indians of saluting officials with the half English expression, 'godd morning, sir' should be completely given up.........The Englishmen are anxious to bring the whole world under their control. We do not want it.........We are not slaves by birth. I hate the action of the moderates in begging for swaraj and thanking for the small alms doled out....... I did not beg of the English audiences whom I addressed. They disowned the rulers in India and said that, if these were capable enough, they would have found a situation there alone.........The wretched Dyer, the hard hearted Dyer, shot down the patriots, that gathered at Jallianwalla Bagh!......... If such a wretch had been in England, not a bone of his would have been spared. He escaped in poor India.

..... .We did not want the life of this man who took away the lives of thousands. We only wanted that he should be tried and punished, if proved guilty. Is this a mistake?.........We shed our blood and spent our money in the great European war. France would have been blown to the winds, but for the service of the Indian troops. The reforms are a reward for such help. The grant of reforms was necessitated by the war and the assurance given by the Englishmen to America, whose help they required that they were going to grant swaraj to Ireland, Egypt and India......How long are we to live, trodden under foot by the fiendish Dyer and beaten and kicked in Africa? We are lions. We do not want the fox-like reforms, and will not be satisfied with them......Vote for one who will sacrifice self, one who will not be afraid of the official and one who will not change his mind whatever may happen. Do not vote for the moderates.......The bureaucrats are the servants of the people and they should be apprised of it and made to act accordingly. This cannot be done by the moderates.......We are sure to have the nectar of full swaraj. It does not matter if we have poison too. Sankara will appear to swallow it. He is not asleep.

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53. Referring to a statement said to have been made by Lord Sinha at Calcutta, that the Indian students proceeding to England often return to India disgusted with the former country on account of their not having an opportunity to move with noble-minded Englishmen there, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th March, writes:--

Indian students in England.

We do not think Lord Sinha has divulged the whole truth about the cause of the Indian students becoming disgusted with England. They cannot rest satisfied with merely having interviews, with good-natured Englishmen occupying high positions. They feel aggrieved only because the Indians here are denied even a portion of the liberty and influence the British people enjoy in public life and in the Government in England. It will not do, if a few Englishmen speak sympathetically to the Indian student. The only desirable course is to adopt a more definite policy of satisfying their thirst for liberty.

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62. In its leader under this heading the Nellore Patrika, of the 6th March, observes that owing to an official majority hitherto in the Imperial Legislative Council Bills to which the people are unanimously opposed are passed, that, even in future, the increase of the non-official element in the Council cannot solve this difficulty owing to the powers reserved to the Governor-General, that the reforms will therefore be useless without a declaration of rights, that people must work hard for the concession of those rights, that the recent decision of the Privy Council which had hitherto enjoyed the confidence of the people, declaring that the Viceroy had every power to issue an ordinance, has been received with disappointment by the people and that the British Government should make a declaration of the rights of the people.

Declaration of rights.

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64. The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th March, gives in Telugu under this heading what the Social Reformer writes on the subject containing:--

Dire famine.

The removal of control has driven the food problem into a crisis. The prices have risen enormously and the distress of small ryots, minor officials and the middle classes who form the bulk of the people defies description. The prices have risen enormously and the distress of small ryots, minor officials and the mi

64. The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th March, gives in Telugu under this heading what the Social Reformer writes on the subject containing:--

India and Labour party.

The fact is, that Liberal party and the Tories sacrificed the well being of India, whenever they thought that English trade would sustain any loss. We need not give instances of this to Mr.Samarth. This will be evident on an emanination of the commercial policy followed for the last fifty years.......There may be conflict of interests between the trading classes of the two countries, but there will be no such conflict between the labouring classes. This is why an International Labour Convention has been possible, but no International Trade Convention. There is all the world over a similar conflict going on between the strong and the weak.

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66. The Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd March, gives in Telugu a summary of the speech of Mr.Abdul Bari containing a statement that, if the English are hostile to Khalifate, and Islam Government, they should be deemed enemies of Moslems, and that of the President and the resolutions adopted by the meeting.

The Calcutta Khalifate meeting.

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75. Reviewing in an article under this heading the Government communique on the subject, the Andhrapatrika (weekly) of the 17th March, observes to the following effect:--

The reform of the depressed classes.

At present the Hindu community with its ancient civilisation is under a Christian Government. It is also natural that under such circumstances the rulers would, with a view to win the heartsof the ruled try to impress upon them their culture and institutions. The educational system of India is wholly shaped from this point of view. The endeavour to raise the depressed classes is also carried on on the same lines..........With the single exception of the Sidhapuram settlement in the Kurnool district, all the settlements are under Christian missionary management. Whether these Christian missionaries work disinterestedly or with interest, they believe that our salvation lies in the adoption of Christian civilisation. Though the Christian mission societies are religious bodies in name, through their abnormal acts many political evils have resulted in countries such as China and Africa. Howsoever self-sacrificing and religious he may be, a self-respecting and patriotic missionary will be fond of his national civilisation and Government......If we examine the work of the Christian missions in India, we find that they

have fostered among the people a spirit of irreverence instead of to stengthen the Hindu society..........If our neutral Government entrusts our depressed classes to the to the Christian missionaries, Hindu culture will sustain enormous damage......If there is the Panchama question in India, there are the problems relating to the Negroes and the Asiatics in other countries. Is the condition of the Negroes in the democratic and Christian America or that of the Indians in South Africa better than that of the Panchamas in India? All over the world the strong are oppressing the weak. No one can say that this is just.....

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76. The Punjab Disturbances Inquiry Committee. Adversely criticising the Military officers for their haughty attitude towards the Indian Judges of the Committee, and Lord Hunter for his failure to reprimand them and for not giving sufficient scope to his Indian colleagues for crossexamining the witnesses, the Kanthirava of the 16th March, suspects that Lord Hunter might have been prejudiced by the Anglo-Indian influence and adds that the conduct of the military witnesses is a disgrace to them and cannot but reflect upon the Government as well.

Genl

87. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 16th March, gives in Telugu what the Young India writes on the subject, containing:--If the Act is to remain in the Statute book, we cannot help opposing it, for so long as such a disgraceful Act so remains, the country cannot have peace. It cannot be a matter for pride for the Government to reject the wish unanimously expressed by the people. The rulers must realise that, in these days when it is proposed that the rulers and the ruled must co-operate, the Rowlatt Act must be repealed soon.

The Rowlatt Act must be repealed.6

For the week ending 27th March, 1920.

NO. 13 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Khil.

1. In a leader under the heading "Khalifate day", the South Indian Mail, of the 22nd March, commenting on the dismemberment of Turkey, writes as follows:--.......... The main point is that the Muslims throughout the world are not prepared to see the dismemberment of Turkey by Christian nations, and the question demands that a statesmanlike treatment should be given to it. There is no doubt a strong and influential party in England which is endeavouring to turn the Turks out of Europe, and the British Government, which is after all a Christian Government, will be exposed to the influence of that party, and if one reads the accounts of the speeches of responsible people, it is clear that they are trying to meet half-way

The Turkish question.

the desires of the anti-Turkish party. It is very likely that the decision of the British Government to occupy Constantinople, so far as its military and naval position is concerned, would be carried out in its Entirety and a situation would then be created which might end in disaster to the Empire. Mr.Gandhi, in the course of his speech, made while moving the resolution on the Khalifate day in Bombay, said: "The resolution undoubtedly foreshadowed in unmistakable manner that the last stage of this (Khalifate) movement will be bloody revolutions." Mr.Gandhi is the apostle of Satyagraha movement, which is based on non-violence and self-suffering and such a man fears that unless the Khalifate question is satisfactorily settled, the methods of non-violence and self-suffering' would be replaced by bloody revolutions, which are, in their essence, permeated by violence and infliction of suffering. He still believes that the British statesmanship is strong enough to resist the anti-Muslim tendency so blindly and persistently adopted by the Christian nations. If it should come to the worst, the British Government should be prepared to stand by the Indian Muslims, and the British people with three hundred millions of Indian subjects would prove irresistble to Christian nations.........It is, therefore, the duty of everybody interested in the avoidance of revolutions to help in the amicable settlement of this question which has become international in its scope and significance. Indians, including of course the Muslims, are in temperament averse to the adoption of revolutionary methods, and the resolution passed at the meetings in several places throughout India makes a fervent appeal to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the preservation of the integrity of the Turkish Empire and prevention of a severe strain being put on the loyalty of His Majesty's subjects."

4xxxxThexDesabhimanixxofxthex14thxMarchx

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Turkish problem.

4. The Desabhimani, of the 14th March, publishes under this heading an article contributed which contains:--.............It would not have been easy to subdue Turkey without the help of the Muhammadans and the Muhammadans would not have rendered help, but for the assurance given about the integrity of the Turkish (religious) Empire. The loyalty of the Muhammadans has been so far complete. Under these circumstances it is not good to create so much agitation among them. The Turkish Sultan is bereft of power. Why should any fears be entertained about him?.........This problem has been rousing intense feeling among the Muhammadans and among the Hindus in sympathy with them. If by God's grace this problem is not satisfactorily solved now, it will lead to repentence later on.

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cal 6. In a leading article under the heading 'Indians in East Africa', the Malayala Manorama, of the 18th March, deplores the oppression and persecution of the Indians by the recent European settlers in East Africa, especially, the support consciously or unconsciously given to this wicked policy by the British Government in East Africa. It points out that Europeans are making strenuous efforts to rob the Indian Naboths of the extensive lands which they cleared and now hold in Nayrobi and to drive them away from all parts of East Africa, while, at the same time, the Government are encouraging Europeans to settle down in those parts. The article refutes the reasons, which it characterises as mean and contemptible, advanced by Europeans for sending Asiatics out of East Africa, and observes that their efforts in this direction and the oppression of Indians in other British colonies have created considerable unrest among the people of India.

Indians in East Africa.

Khil 8. The Qaumi Report, of the 16th March, referring to the present unrest prevailing in India, says that it is not merely superficial but very deep seated. The ocean tides do not rise without cause. There is some reason for the undercurrent.

The Khalifate and the Muslim sentiments. The question of future policy.

At present we see that Europe has taken a wrong step, and it is impossible for her to reach destination if she follows this way. The adoption of this course has compelled mussalmans to change their attitude. The writer then gives extracts from several resolutions passed at the

meetings of conferences held in different places, and hopes that those who have not understood the underlying cause of the prevailing unrest in India will ponder the matter carefully and avoid hurting still more the wounded feelings of Muhammadans.

Objection to Government employees. A fresh provocation by the Government. 6

9. The Qaumi Report, of the 17th March, expressing regret at the issue of the Government order prohibiting Government Muslim employees from attending the Khalifate meeting on Khalifate Day, remarks:--Government employees are Muslims and the Government has no right to separate them from the Muslim community or to prevent them from performing their religious duties. By G.O.No.180, it can only be understood that Mussalmans who are Government employees, are not bound to religion but to the Government. We know that the Government does not mean this, but in effect the prohibition signifies this and this only.

In connexion with the Government's reference to article 22 in the order, the writer remarks that perhaps the Government wants to persuade Mussalmans that Khalifate Day is political and not a religious observation, from which it is to be inferred that the Khalifate problem is not a theological but political question. We greatly regret that the person who drafted the Government order has not grasped the significance of the Khalifate problem. The Government order might have been worded in a more tactful and worthy manner.

The writer, discussing at length the subject of the Government order, says that there is no doubt that the

the Government by this order has created discord between itself and Mussalmans, and suggests either the withdrawal of the order or a modification of it so that this idea, that the Government obstructs the performing of religious obligations, may not spread.

Lord Willingdon is an able and fair-minded Englishman and the kind of person who appeals to Muhammadans, but it appears that the absence of Mr. Armitage, the Commissioner of Police, has induced him to accept a bad suggestion. He is, probably, alarmed by the exaggerations of the C.I.D. In Madras the Khalifate Committee has not yet arrived at any decision with reference to the adoption of its final course of action. It is not the business of the Madras Government to import foreign sentiments in Madras and to build on imaginary foundations.

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10. The Qaumi Report, of the 18th March, appeals to Muhammadans to instruct their wives and children to commence offering prayers to God from to-night for the security and inviolability of the Holy places, and encourages them by recalling to their minds several ~~several~~ instances of the hardships endured in the time of our Holy Prophet in securing the Holy Places of Syria, Palestine, etc.

A word to Muhammadans.

The writer refuting the accusations of certain people that Mussalmans are secretly preparing munitions and poisonous gas, assures them that their actions are plain and simple.

We will not meet the physical force by physical force. We will not complain of tyranny and injustice of one to

another. We will not flee from the tyranny of one and take refuge under that of another, on the other hand we will appeal to the creator and secure punishment of the unjust by a just God.

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The condition of the labourers.

22. Referring to the resolution moved in the Imperial Legislative Council suggesting the appointment of a commission to inquire about the condition of the labourers in India and its subsequent withdrawal on the statements of the Government that the matter is under their considration and that they are awaiting the reports of the Provincial Governments on that question, the Vartakamitran, of the 7th March, remarks that it is the Government of a country that is responsible for improving the industrial capacity of the people thereof and adds:--Governments have come into existence only to secure the conveniences of the people ~~thereof and adds:-- Governments have come into existence only to secure the conveniences of the people~~ and not vice versa. It is the labourers in a country that mostly contribute to its economic progress and it is necessary in the interests of the country that these labourers should be strong enough to do their work, which in turn presupposes their having a full meal. When the prices have risen abnormally and the wages paid to the labourers do not suffice even for a single meal, the question is whether the first thing to be considered is to enable them to live by increasing their wages or supplying them foodstuffs at a cheap rate or to build houses and hospitals for them and provide them with sanitary facilities. When the labourers are demanding sufficient wages for their sustenance, it is not an appropirate reply to say that the subject

to say that the subject is under the consideration of the Government. In matters like the supply of foodstuffs which are indispensable for the life of man, unless prompt steps are taken and proper facilities afforded, there will doubtless crop up several kinds of agitation which will disturb the public peace. It is the Government and the capitalists that ~~ar~~ are responsible for strikes and it therefore behoves the former, who are conducting the administration for the welfare of the public, to bring the capitalists and the labourers together and see that the latter are paid sufficient wages in consonance with the changed conditions. It is a folly to think that hunger can be appeased by the appointment of commissions.

The condition of the labourers.

Remarking that, when the people of other countries were making weapons from stones and were roaming about in the forests unclad like savages, the Indians were manufacturing implements of metal and not only lived in palatial residences, dressed in gorgeous attire but also supplied cloths to others in the world, so as to save their honour, a correspondent to the Desabhaktan, of the 18th March, dwells upon the hardships of the labourers now employed in hills and other factories and observes:--In some companies, the labourers are not provided with a supply of drinking water or a place for answering their calls of nature and the authorities pay no heed to a representation of these grievances. Though the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills have opened a school for giving primary education to their employees, no good will come out of it. Instruction should be given in these schools, through magic lantern slides, about sanitation and the manufacture of machines. This would enable the

labourers to manufacture machines themselves or improve the existing ones. Facilities should be afforded to those coming forward to do so, just as is done in Panama. Further the employers in India should also treat the labourers kindly without kicking them with their booted legs, and provide the required facilities for them. The Government should curtail the working hours in every factory of frame such rules as will enable the labourers to have education, as also render pecuniary aid to the schools that may be started for this purpose.

The Bolshevik movement and India.

26. Referring to the apprehension of the British Government that the Bolshevik movement, which is spreading throughout the world will get into India too, the Lokopakari, of the 11th March, observes:--If the British Government come forward to relieve, in a way, the stress caused by the high prices here and the discontent resulting from the thirst of the people for liberty, they need fear no danger from the Bolsheviks. The poverty and ignorance of India should be got rid of by the spread of education and the development of trade and industry. The enormous expenditure incurred on the Police, the Military and Railways, against the wishes of the popular leaders and in preference to the improvement of industries and education, has been breeding only discontent and it is believed that this is due to the administrative officials in India being mostly Englishmen. Opinion is spreading among the people that the authorities do not follow the principle that only the surplus of the articles produced in India after meeting her demands should be exported to other countires, but are allowing the export of the same, leaving the Indians to starve. The feeling

is gorwing strong among the Indians that the authorities have introduced repressive laws like the Arms Act, the Press Act and the Rowlatt Act only to keep the Indians down, as they suspect the loyalty of the latter. The Indians are rankling at the charge brought by the English officials that they lack administrative capacity and they complain that they have not been afforded the same facilities in the field of trade and commerce as are enjoyed by the Englishmen. Public opinion is strong that adequate steps have not been taken to reduce the spread of diseases and the rate of moratality and the impressiom of the wise among the Indians is that as many facilities are not provided in India for enabling the people to live happily as is the case in Britain. If the Indians acquire the privileges of the British and improve their condition, India need not have any fear from any foreigner.

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31. The Desabhuktan and the Swadesamitran, of the 15th March, contain the proceedings of a meeting held at Madura on the 6th idem under the auspices of the local branch of the South Indian Depressed Classes Association, at which resolutions were passed, among other things, praying for the introduction of compulsory primary education among them, the appointment of special educational officers for the inspection of their schools as is done in the case of schools for Muhammadan boys, the payment of proper wages for labourers of these classes, the grant of house-sites and darkhast lands for their benefit and the nomination or representatives of these classes on all local bodies.

The depressed classes.

The Dravidan, of the 17th March, reproduces the comments of the Justice of the 9th idem on the communique issued by the Madras Government about the depressed classes and expresses the view thus, as long as the Government act on the words of the "so-called higher classes," reforms introduced to benefit the depressed classes with the best of intentions will be carried out only leisurely;

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32. The Desabhaktan, of the 16th March, publishes a speech said to have been delivered by Mr. Subrahmanya Siva at Dharmapuri on the 10th idem on this subject, in which he is reported to have referred to the serious hardships suffered by the poor on account of the high prices and to the action of the Government in having given promotion to General Dyer, "who vomited before the Hunter Committee that he ordered the people in the Jallianwalla Bagh to be shot until the ammunition was exhausted" and to have stated that it is the duty of the British Government to decide the Khalifate question favourably.

The present situation.

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35. Adverting to the observance of this day in Madras, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th March, says:--All Moslems feel strongly that, if the Khalifate question is decided prejudicially to the secular greatness of the Caliph, it will be aiming a strong blow on the Islamic faith. The Moslems are devoted to their religion and they will be prepared to sacrifice their life and property for preserving the same. There is no doubt that they are actuated by such a feeling now. We hope the authorities in Europe and India will realise this and act accordingly. Though the moderates are belittling the cessation of work yesterday, we want the authorities to believe that the Hindus are sincerely sumpathising with the Moslems.

The Khalifate day.

In appealing to all the people in the city to observe the Khalifate day, the Desabhaktan, of the 18th March, remarks that, though a strong agitation is being being carried on in England to drive Turkey out of Europe,

The Khalifate day.

it will come to nothing in the end, as virtue should win before vice.

This paper points to the order of the Local Government warning all Moslems in Government service against taking part in the Khalifate day celebration and says:--This order declaring it to be 'disloyal' to take part in the observance of the Khalifate day, only makes it clear that the authorities have not rightly understood the nature of the Khalifate and the attitude of the Moslems. It is much to be regretted that the Madras Government are unaware of the fact that the Khalifate question has no political tinge about it and that it is deemed by the Moslems to be a serious matter touching their religion. We do not know how far the present order is proper and legal. Nevertheless, we hope both the Hindus and the Moslems will celebrate the day grandly. The authorities are forgetting that this is a moment when they have to be very patient and calm. But the public should get through their work, without losing either patience or calmness of judgment, whatever may be done by the authorities.

The Swadesamitran, of the 18th March, also refers to this order and remarks:--The Government have the power to issue any orders to their officials. But we do not understand what they mean by declaring the Khalifate day celebration to be a disloyal' action. If it is so, not only the Government servants but all people should be prevented from taking part in it. Inasmuch as they have not prevented non-officials from joining in the celebration, we have to take it that they do not deem it to be disloyal. So we think the words used in this order are contrary to the opinion of the Government. The Khalifate agitation is only a religious one and has nothing to do with politics and it is on this construction that Mr.Montagu and others are favouring the viw

view of the Indian Moslems. The Moslems decided to celebrate the day only with the idea of communicating their opinion more effectively to Mr.Montagu and others and accomplish their object with their aid. Statesmenship would therefore demand that the Governments in India should so conduct themselves as to make the Moslems believe that they are as sympathetic towards the Moslems as the British Government.

The Khalifate day.

The Swadesamitran, of the 18th March, publishes a fervent appeal from a correspondent in Hyderabad to Hindus and Moslems to join in observing this day and to the Moskems to be prepared to apprise the British Government of their final decision not to co-operate with them, if they fail to keep the promises made by them in regard to Turkey, and to sacrifice everything for the sake of their religion.

The Desabhaktan, of the 18th March, reproduces in Tamil the comments of the Mahratta on the duty of the Indians in regard to the Khalifate question.

The Desabhaktan and the Swadesamitran, of the 20th March, publish the proceedings of the Khalifate day celebration in the city on the 19th idem, and the following observations find place among others in the speeches delivered thereat:--

The Desabhaktan, "As the British are proceeding beyond limits in testing our loyalty, we cannot tolerate it any longer. We are having in their case a practical illustration of the saying that the mind gets clouded before the occurrence of any evil.....When the Moslems have assisted the British Government to gain a victory by shedding our blood in the war, unmindful of the hardships caused to us by them does it indicate a feeling of gratitude

on their part to wound the feelings of this community by ordering that they should not join in the observance of the Khalifate day?...........Is it not India that has contributed to the fame and glory of England?..........Let the British note that, if they act highhandedly wounding the feelings of a community which has helped them in several ways, the Almighty God will attend to it and do the needful.

The Swadesamitran.--We are surprised at the Government landing us in such a pass as will make us exceed all bounds. ....The Government should not rely upon the words of those who say that we do not feel strongly in this matter. If the leaders had not kept the people under control, the situation would have become very difficult. If they try our patience still, a position may be reached when the leaders cannot do anything.........We should apprise the Government finally of our decision that, if Turkey is endangered in any way, the Moslems are ready even to sacrifice their lives for their faith.....So we hope British Government will act discreetly at this critical juncture.

The Desabhaktan and the Swadesamitran, of the 20th and 22nd March, publish the proceedings of the observance of the Khalifate day in several places in the mufassal.

In commenting upon the observance of the day in the city and the mufassal, the Desabhaktan, of the 20th March, says:--If Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Curzon and other European statesmen, who are trying to drive the Sultan of Turkey out of Europe and break the Ottoman Empire had attempted to witness the celebrations yesterday, throughout Hindustan, either from an aeroplane or through the mind's eye, they would have realised the folly of their actions and found out that they are waging a 'war' against crores of Hindus and Mussalmans in the world. We still trust that the thousands of telegrams sent to Europe today from different

parts of India about the proceedings of the Khalifate day will open the eyes of the European statesmen and obtain justice for Turkey.

Khalifate day.

The Qaumi Report, in its issues of the 13th and 14th March, makes repeated spirited appeals to Mussalmans to observe Khalifate day by strictly suspending their work, organising a general strike in all towns and villages, and by representing their real and common sentiments to His Excellency the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and to the Premier.

Lord Meston's award.

37. Referring to this award, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th March, observes:---

There is little doubt that Lord Meston's decision would have caused great disappointment to the non-Brahmans and it would have caused great disappoin ment to the non-Brahmans and it would have taken the Brahmans also by surprise, as they would not have anticipated this result. Usually, the awards of arbitrators will fail to give complete satisfaction to their of the parties. But, as the present decision might have given unexpected satisfaction to many Brahmans, it can surely be said to differ from the ordinary awards. An arbitrator had to be called in, as the representatives of both the parties were obstinate and though these representatives did not, in their statement before him, adhere to the settlement come to originally by them, he might have noticed the point at which they had so agreed. Though there is a principle indeed in reserving one seat for each district and throwing open the rest for competition, it will not, doubtless, be acceptable to the non-Brahmans.

39. The Swadesamitran, of the 18th March, writes:--Those who secure the favour of the bureaucracy can have no defect and they will be praised to the skies. Taking advantage of this, they usually strengthen their cause by gaining over some bureaucrats to their side. It is only such people or such as expect to gain the favour of the bureaucracy, that always justify the actions of the Government, whenever they are condemned. Thus the power of the bureaucracy makes our people swerve from the right path and adopt a blind course Our contention has been that they should not have this power and that they should be responsible to the popular representatives. It has become quite usual for the bureaucracy to strengthen their position, by adopting their wonted policy, even when the seeds are being sown for making the bureaucrats responsible to the popular leaders. When an attempt is made to reduce the absolute power of the bureaucracy and make Government responsible to the people to a small extent, by framing the necessary rules under the Parliamentary Act, the work of drafting these rules has been entrusted to the bureaucrats themselves and they are doing the work, rallying the moderates to their side. Judged from this, we can well guage even now how far the bureaucracy will become responsible to the popular leaders. Both the Government of India and the Local Governments are consluting only the moderates in framing the rules. It was stated by Mr.Morris in the Imperial Legislative Council that it was impossible to consult all parties. If it is possible to consult ten moderates, we do not see how it will be impossible to conslut five moderates and five nationalists. We cannot think of any other reason for this than that the moderates can conveniently be gained over and that the nationalists may stick. It is quite natural for the bureaucracy, which is being wasted away by the tide of democracy now flowing the

The Government and the moderates.

world, to think of saving themselves by catching the straw of the moderates and of continuing their rule. But the x strange part of it is only the fact of the moderates playing second fiddle to them. What right have these to give advice in a matter concerning 33 crores of people, especially when, according to their own admission, they have a very poor following in the country? Do not these again side those who wrote in the beginning that it was dishonourable to accept the proposals of Mr.Montagu and turned over latter and appreciated his Bill, after it was published? Is it not the duty of all the thirty-three crores of Indians to relive the bondage of Mr.Horniman, who provoked the ire of the bureaucracy on account of his having spread a knowledge of politics and dispelled the ignorance of the people about it? The moderates, who are not prepared to get the restrictions imposed on him removed, are guilty of the worst ingratitude. We take it that the Royal Proclamation issued after the passing of the Reforms Act had the approval of Mr.Montagu and others and if so they are bound to act upon the instructions laid down therein that all bitterness among the people should be removed and their co-operation sought. The people are prepared to forget and forgive the past. Are the Government prepared to do so? If they are, why cannot they extend the royal clemency to Mr.Horniman and others? What danger will result if Mr. Horniman comes to India? ~~as was implied in the reply of Sir William Vincent~~ His intelligence will be admitted by every one and experience shows that his methods are always constitutional. It is not a bold act on the part of the Government to be afraid of such a man and pin him to England. How can bitterness go and co-operation secured under these circumstances? Does Mr.Montagu approve of things being done like this contrary to the Royal Proclamation? Will the Publicity Bureau issue a communique explaining the attitude of Mr.Montagu?

40. Thex Desabhaktan, of the 20th March, also expresses its surprise at the Government of India still apprehending that a serious danger will result, if Mr.Horniman comes to India, as was implied in the reply of Sir William Vincent to a question on this point, and adds:--If Lord Chelmsford and Sir George Lloyd think that it is this policy that will be indicative of the new era desired by His Majesty, we entreat him to recall these two to England and appoint proper persons in their place. These two have conducted themselves only like petty chiefs ruling over a small territory and not like big statesmen governing wide India.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

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41. Generalising from the figures furnished by the Bombay Government to show the number of Europeans appointed to the higher posts in the presidency, both old and new, after the cessation of the war, that the bureaucracy in the different provinces are creating new appointments for the Europeans and the members of the Civil Service and preferring Europeans specially even for appointments which are not reserved for them, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th March, remarks:--The main qualification of many of the Europeans appointed as stated above seems to be that they served in the war. We do not object to service in the war being rewarded adequately. But, when several Indians specially qualified for certain posts are available, why should not applications be called for and the best men chosen? The Europeans newly imported have no experince of this

Europeans and the Public Service.

country. Seeing that the Government are acting hastily, without noting these things, we do not know if their motive is to create as many new appointments as possible before the new Legislative Councils come into existence and appoint Europeans to them. When the administrative expenditure has to be reduced and the saving utilised for items beneficial to the public, the action of the authorities in this matter is strange indeed.

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44. The Desabhaktan, of the 23rd March, wants that, as desired by Mr.Gandhi, arrangemets should be made to observe the "National week" in South India from the 6th to the 13th April 1920 and appeals to the people of the Tamil country to make it more successful than the Satyagraha day last year.

The Satyagraha day.

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46. The Turkish problem has been agitating the Muhammadan world.........There is a report that the Armenians have long been hatching plots against the Turkish Government. The proper course would be to appoint a committee to inqure into the truth of such a report and not to set about the disruption of the Turkish Empire on the pretext of the Armenian massacres...... Has not Lord Curzon been pursuing a policy in this affair similar to his policy in regard to the partition of Bengal. He himself apprehends unrest as the result of his policy and why should be persist in it?..........There has been an unprecedented agitation among the Indian Muhammadans, and yesterday's Khalifate congregations all over the country are a proof of this. It does not show the farsightedness of the British to have excited such unrest in the Muhammadan world and created a situation favourable to the Bolsheviks. Reuter's messages show that the Bolsheviks are utilising this high feeling among the Muhammadans for spreading their movement among them. We learn that the Bolsheviks have an eye on Central Asia and Afghanistan. Who can say, under these circumstances, that war has been ended and peace established?.........In the midst of these critical conditions, we can assert there is no need for despair. The reconstruction of the world is no joke and the ideas that have grown for generations cannot be case away in a moment..........There is no doubt that justice will triumph in the end......... Though India has not been allowed-self-determination, her people will have greater influence on account of the reforms.........We cannot help doubting if the League of Nations, as at present constituted, can successfully effect this reconstruction.........India has been granted a seat in it, but she will not be fit to undertake her duty until she is granted complete self-government. India

is the country that can greatly help in the reconstruction of the world; for the conquest over passions is prescribed by her ancient sages as the path to peace...........The modern Indians may have somewhat swered from it, but the presence of a rishi of the type of Gandhi in the twentiety century, is a proof that they have notx altogether abandoned their high ideal. Western culture on the other hand multiplies physical wants without limit and no material acquisition such as that of wealth or territory can satisfy them. ....Physical science has been ministering to human want, but no peace of heart or true happiness has resulted..........Strife has increased; jealousies have grown and selfishness has become intense. This has culminated in the terrible war. Though the war has ended, their old instincts have not left the western people. It is high time that India proclaims her spiritual message. Mahatma Gandhi has already proclaimed it, but it has not been heeded yet, and will not be heeded until India becomes a self-governing country in the empire. The Indians and the Andhras must strive hard to bring about this end as it will conduce not only to the well-being of India, but also to the peace of the world.

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47. In its leader under this heading, the Kistnapatrika, of the 13th March (received on the 23rd), attacks the position taken up by some that, since real

Political parties.

parties do not exist in India, the voters may give their vote in favour of any person who is most competent to discharge his duty as a member of the Council, be he a moderate or a nationalist, seeing that such party denominations are but nominal and all such parties meet on the same platform so far as their work in the Legislative Councils is concerned, whether it relates to education, sanitation, agriculture or irrigation in India. The paper observes that the advocates of this theory lose sight of an essential difference subsisting between the moderates and the extremists. It consists in the opinion of the paper of one of attitude--that of the moderates being compromise with the authorities while that of the nationalists is plain speaking and straight dealing. The paper observes:--So long, our administration is entirely in the hands of the bureaucracy and it is they that have been so long standing in the way of our rights. It is to obliterate their arbitrary powers that we have been so long agitating. The chief duty of the Congress consists in this and it is what the representatives of the people in the Legislative Councils are doing, more or less. It is not only outside the Legislative Councils but also within them that we have to oppose the bureaucracy. And it is this consideration that constitutes the real basis of the difference between our political parties. If we examine our present day political history, the real difference between the moderates and the extremists relates to their attitude to the bureaucracy resorted to the policy of "dividing" our leaders and "rallying the moderates." Some have, no doubt disinterestedly,

come under this spell and Gokhale is the foremost among them. Those that follow in his footsteps, we call moderates. Conciliation and compromise is their policy. They covet some reforms and co-operate with the bureaucracy in some of their arbitrary acts. What other instance is needed in illustration of this than Gokhale's co-operation in the matter of the Press Act. The two parties take their origin from that date. How the bureaucracy won over the Muhammadans at the time of the partition of Bengal is a historic fact now. Mr.Montagu is an expert in this diplomany. He has won over to his sides persons like Mr.Srinivasa Sastriyar, Mrs.Besant, Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar, and Mr.Surendranath Bannerjee. That some leaders should thus be won over may perhaps conduce to the well-being of the country and we cannot condemn such as traitors to the country. Their ideal is to secure political development by conciliating the authorities. There is the other party who do not crave the favour of the bureaucracy, who oppose their arbitrary acts and go forward. This is the chief characterstic of the extremists. As long as there remains any arbitrariness on the part of the authorities, both these parties must come up. They may agree upon many matters but they differ in their attitude towards the authorities. The present discussions in the Imperial Council bear out the truth of the above statement. Compare Messrs.Bannerjee, Wacha, and Chitnavis with Messrs.Patel and Khaparde on the "Tariff" question....... Look at the advisory committees constituted in connextion with the framing of rules which have been given over to"liberal" leaders. Who can say that this arrangement is accidental and not deliberate? They are taken as advisers, from whom support is expected. In regard to the coming elections it is essential that this secret is clearly explained to the voters. While judging of the

qualifications of candidates, descrimination has to be exercised as to who, holding only the well-being of the country in their view, speak out public opinion, and who yeild to the ways of the authorities and their falttering words. We must loudly proclaim that they alone are worhty to be elected who can, in conformity with public opinion, oppose the authorities and uphold the rights of the people, be they Brahmans or non-Brahmans, Christians or Muhammadans. The moderates may be able to secure, by diplomacy, some small benefits such as sanitary grants, but the national interests should not be lost sight of in view of these small benefits.......Political progress will no longer be plain sailing. As rights are conceded to the people, the struggle with the bureaucracy will grow keen and tactics will have to be resorted to under the name of "co-operation". Up to now our political life has been child's play............It is a self-deception to fancy that our political career will be hereafter across a smooth sea. Storms have to be braved and pilots are required who can boldly steer the ship of national politics to a safe haven. Leaders are coming forward who, seeking comfort, wish to put into a wrong port. Our duty is to keep clear of them.

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51. Under this heading, the Desabhimani, of the 7th March (received on the 25th) observes to the following effect:--......

Imperial preference and restraints on India.

Whenever there is a motion to impose taxes on imports, the English people whose interests are thereby affected and the Parliament which consists of their representatives raise a hue and cry...........Imperial preference is a source of loss to our country. This was considered and decided during the time of Lord Curzon. At a time when the reformed council should insist on a policy of complete protection, it is improper that attempts are made to introduce Imperial preference...........Whom does such a system benefit? It benefits the South Africans who look upon the Indians as slaves and brutes, and the Canadians who exclude the Indians from their country..... Every Indian with self-respect should show self-control by not purchasing their goods and not selling our goods to them. That, instead of doing so, we should help them by accepting Imperial preference will only show our weakness and not broad-heartedness. So, the Indians should oppose this principle with a united front and affirm with one voice that it cannot be accepted by our country. There is no use of repenting when it is too late.

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54. In its leader under this heading, the Desabhimani, of the 14th March, gives a summary of the rules and its criticism thereon to the following effect:--

Draft rules.

1. These rules are more liberal than the recommendations of the South-borough Committee, but are not liberal enough and cannot satisfy the wishes of an advocate of popular rights.

2. The representation granted to Europeans and Anglo-Indians is in excess of the requirements, considered from the point of view of members, property, etc. The Europeans are responsible for the creation of the Anglo-Indian community and both have a common language and a common religion. It is not proper that the civilised Europeans should observe such caste distinction.

3. There is an error in the determination of local areas for Christian voters. Some Tamil districts are also included along with Andhra districts in a local area and this is opposed to the recommendation of the South-borough Committee.

4. All the white races in the British Empire are included in the term 'Europeans' and this is most unjust. The Indians in the colonies are denied the rights of passing along a road, of travelling in railway trains, of settling down in them, of trading, of acquiring property, and of being members of Municipal or Legislative Councils or voters at least............The charity shown to the people of the colonies is a one exercised setting nought ourselves.

5. ~~It "Non-Muhammadans" is not in keeping with the self-~~

5. "Non-Muhammadans" is not in keeping with the self-respect of the Hindus.

6. It is proper that the Andhra country should have at least 30 out of the 65 seats assigned for election......

7. The Government have appointed officers to prepare lists and doubts are entertained that no alterations will be made in accordance with the wishes of the people. It is not statesmanship to give room for such doubts. We believe that assurance given by the Secretary of State for India, that sufficient time will be allowed for the offering of public criticism.

8. The property qualification of the holders of dry land, who form a large proportion of the landholders in the Presidency and whose lands pay a lower rate of assessment, must be reduced.

The necessity of Home Rule for India.

67. In the course of a serial article under the heading "The necessity of Home Rule for India" in the Bhajekeralam, of the 20th March, the writer refers to want of freedom of Indians in their own country and outside, points out that the conditions of Indians outside India is more pitiable than that of slavery and says:--Considering all these things it will be plain that no other people in the world except the Indians live so bereft of self-respect, freedom and peace and in such abject poverty. We do not hide the fact that when any great thing is to be achieved some westerners praise Indians as great, valiant and noble men, and on those occasions they do not hesitate to heap honours and titles on them. But on other occasions westerners consider Indians to be a class of creatures useful for

work in the plantations...........To remedy these evils and to enable us to live as human beings, India must necessarily have self-government.

The correspondent then points out that self-government on the lines of the memorandum of the 19 members of the Imperial Legislative Council and the Congress-league scheme, which are far too moderate, is quite insufficient for present needs, that any reforms which do not confer on the Indians the control of the army, railways, post and telegraphs, currency, etc., are useless for the attainment of self-government, and that the Reforms Scheme reveals distrust of the ruled on the part of the rulers and increase the powers of the latter and is therefore worse than useless, and need not be thought of as a Reform at all, and observes that Indians should incessantly work for the attainment of their object till they get complete self-government.

In a foot note the Editor says that he does not agree with some of the opinions expressed in the article.

For the week ending 3rd April, 1920.

NO. 14 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k)General.

1. In a leader under the heading "The Agony of the Punjab", the Hindu, of the 1st April, writes:--

The Punjab affair.

"We must confess to a sort of sneaking sympathy for Sir Michael O'Dwyer. When all is said and done he did the dirtiest portion of the work of saving the Empire. He converted the whole machinery of administration into a kind of glorified press-gand and initiated that policy of adjudging by results and winking at the means of which the Punjab tragedy was the logical culmination. However abhorrent his methods, it would be well to remember that the need was great. The call for help from hard-pressed Britain was insistent and could not be ignored. The men were needed. We believe they could have been got by perfectly legitimate methods. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who lost no occasion of doing lip-service to the people of the Punjab, had his doubts. But got they had to be, by fair means or foul. The whole point of the case against Sir Michael is that he preferred to employ foul means to that end.........It is indisputable that things were done in the Punjab which disgraced British rule. It is not beyond proof that Sir Michael's was the inspiring force behind them. Even if he did not actively connive at the worst of them, it is clear that he neglected to take adequate steps to stop them.........For this neglect of duty alone, to call it no worse, Sir Michael would have deserved

the severest reprobation. The manner in which he dealt with the storm he had himself contributed largely to rouse ~~tn~~ turned reprobation into extraction.

VERNACULAR PAPERS

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in South Africa

2. Referring to the proposal said to have been made by Mr.Phillips, the President of the South African Association, that, if the Europeans there are to remain a white race, the Indians should be kept separately, the SWADESAMITRAN, of 24th March, points also to the complaint of the Europeans that the Indians have more than half of the trade in their hands and observes:--What have the Indians done to prevent the Europeans also improving in trade? Instead of demonstrating their superior civilization by competing with the Indians in Trade and beating them, it is shameful on the part of these Europeans to claim special protection for them. It appears they are going to petition the Parliament to keep the Indians separately. We hope the Parliament will decide this matter, after considering that South Africa does not belong exclusively either to the Indians or to the Europeans and that both these races are only new settlers in it.

The Premier's reply to the Khalifate deputation.

3. Remarking that the reply of the Premier to the Khâlifate deputation that has proceeded to England is a very unsatisfactory one, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th March, expresses it as the opinion of the Moslems that the arraggement proposed by the Premier would not enable the Khalifa to perform his duties according to the Koran, and observes:--Mr.Lloyd George compared the Khalifa with the Pope and declared that, just as the religious supremacy of the latter was not reduced as a result of his having been deprived of his secular power, the religious

supremacy of the Khalifa would not be curtailed by the present decision. But the Premier does not seem to have realised the difference between the two. The Pope has no need to have secular power; for it is not his duty to war with the enemies of Christianity and preserve that religion. But the Khalifa is bound to see that sacred places like Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem are not under the control of non-Moslems, and, to perform this duty, he must have an army, which presupposes a kingdom. Mr.Lloyd George has come to the conclusion, evidently relying upon the admission of the representatives that came from Turkey, that the Turks are massacring the Armenians. The representatives might have based their opinion on the cry raised by the Christians. The Turks at any rate cannot be taken to have admitted this, as they have asked America to send some impartial people to Armenia and ascertain the truth. The news received today from the Hon'ble Mr.Ameer Ali, that the Moslems in Smyrna ~~are very quiet people. Lord Curzon himself has admitted~~ have been deprived of even their cloths by the Christians and that cloths should be sent to them immediately, does not show that the Christians in Syria are very quiet people. Lord Curzon himself has admitted that the Armenian cows will develop tigerlike qualities, if there was an occasion for it. When both the races are accusing each other of being cruel, it is partial on the part of the allies to begin to punish only one of them. The Premier's statement that the Turks are fewer in number than the other races in Thrace and other Moslem tracts clashes with his promise made on the 5th January 1918, that these tracts would be left under the control of the Turks. The gist of his reply was that the Turkish question has been decided once for all and cannot be altered.

~~If so, the allied~~

If so, the allied kingdoms should note that the seed has been sown for the peace of the world being disturbed in the future. The argument adduced by the Premier that Turkey is to be punished only in the same manner as the Christian States of Germany and Austria and that there is no animosity against Turkey on account of its being a Muhammadan power cannot be accepted. The fact that the allies have crushed another State cannot be a reply to the prayer that the position of the head of the Islamic faith should be preserved, to satisfy the feelings of the Moslems. We are afraid whether the confidence of the Indians may be shattered by the words of Mr.Lloyd George. The Moslems should immediately think of what they should do hereafter.

The Desabhaktan, of the 26th March and the Swadesamitran, of the 27th March, publish the Press opinions on the Premier's reply, while the former paper also contains the opinions of the Muhammadans leaders about it like Mr.Fagul Huma Erban Ali.

The Desabhaktan, of the 27th March, also thinks that the reply of the Premier is a disappointing one and, remarking that Mr.Lloyd George seems to be an expert in giving a different interpretation to his statements from what they mean, refers specially to his argument that Turkey will be treated no worse than the Christian enemy Powers and writes:--We are thankful to the Premier for his impartiality; but we would ask if the Christian and other States were treated equally either during the war or after it. And again why was it not declared already that Turkey would be treated in the same manner as Germany and Austria and why was it often proclaimed in Parliament and elsewhere that Turkey

would have justice and that the views of the Indian Moslems would be considered? We always prefer an open policy. The conditions proposed by the Premier clearly indicate an intention to crush Turkey. The comparison between the Pope and the Khalifate is neither correct nor magnanimous. The Premier says that countries which had to subject themselves to a despotism ~~now acquired the right of self-determination? If this is true, have all countries subject to a despotism (now acquired the right of self-determination? The Khalifate question is a serious one affecting the Hindus and the Moskems alike)~~ on account of their incapacity to govern themselves, are bound to exercise the right of self-determination. If This is true, have all countries subject a despotism now acquired the right of self-determination? The Khalifate question is a serious one affecting the Hindus and the Moslems alike. The heart and soul of India is now being tested and the Indians should be prepared for it. The Indian Moslems should not lose heart on account of the Premier's reply. It has only cemented the Hindu-Moslem unity. All the Indians should continue their constitutional agitation with the confidence that justice will win.

The Premier's reply to the Khalifate deputation.

The Desabhaktan, of the 29th March, reverts to this subject and, generalising that the Hindu religion has lost its ancient glory on account of the absence of swaraj for India and that it is the association with the westerns and their education and habits that have ruined the wisdom and love of the Hindus, adds:--It is because Japan is immersed in the brutish civilisation of the west that

Buddhistic principles are almost dead there. It is again because the gospel of Christ, a satyagrahi, has got into the hands of the materialistic westerns, it has also lost its original character. If the teachings of Christ had really spread, would the European war have occurred? The Pope, the protector of the Christian religion, has lost all his powers and is now being led by secular kings. It is only Islam that is still maintaining its integrity and this is because the head of this religion is a King who is subordinate to no one and who rules over a country enjoying swaraj. If the Khalifate is injured, Islam too will share the fate of the other three religions. Mr.Lloyd George's words indicate that the Sultan of Turkey may be reduced to the position of the Pope. We infer that the British intend to dismember Turkey but at the same time see that the position of the Khalifate is not endangered. All those who are devoted to the ancient religions in the world and all thiests should protect the Khalifate from any harm.

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6. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 25th March, writes:--

The Turkish problem. The news that the allied armies have occupied Constantinople cannot but cause grief to the Muhammadans. The Indian Muhammadans have been praying that the Turkish problem may be settled in conformity to their wishes. That their prayer should be discarded does not show farsightedness. It is said that among the armies which have occupied Constantinople, there are also Indian regiments containing Muhammadan soldiers..........The English people are mistaken in supposing that the feeling among the Muhammadans is not sincere. Mr.Gandhi's words cannot be rejected as false.....It is the duty of the British to heed the counsel of a pure-hearted person like Mr.Gandhi who, without any race bias, looks upon all men as equals.... It cannot but be admitted that all parties in England have been looking upon the Turkish problem, with the same spirit. This is natural to Imperialists like Lord Curzon. The Liberals may have been following the Gladstonian policy. The Labour party does not appear to have understood the real import of the problem. The Muhammadans are for granting freedom to small races. If the Armenians, the Arabs and others want self-government, it may be arranged to concede to them self-government under the Turkish Empire and safeguards may be provided against Turkey infringing their rights of self-government. The League of Nations may be entrusted with supervision..... Can freedom be secured by the English and the French distributing among themselves portions of the Turkish Empire and ruling over them in the name of mandate? The Labour party should clearly understand this fact...

The Christian Bishops are exciting religious hatred. We learn from the news received that Doctor Wilson has also consented to the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople. All nations have lost faith in Doctor Wilson. He had first entered the theatre of war with liberal ideas, but the result is not in keeping with them..... The Newstatesman is of opinion that there are in England even now some persons who take a far-reaching view of the Turkish problem.

The Fiji Islands and the distress of the Indians.

11. In an article under this heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 30th March, writes, with reference to the shooting of some labourers in the Fiji Islands:--From the letters appearing in the Hindu, the restraints on the Indians in the Fiji Islands remind us of those imposed by General Dyer on the Punjabis. ....As if the present sufferings of the Indians are not enough, the Bishop of Polynesia tries to send more coolies from India to the Fiji Islands.

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14. Referring to the news that about 70,000 Jews were massacred by the Bolsheviks, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 31st March, remarks:--If the perpetrators of such wicked deeds are Europeans and belong to Christianity, then it is evident how far they act up to their religious principles. If these enormities are the outcome of Bolshevik policy, there can be no doubt that Bolshevism is something most abominable.

The doings of the Bolsheviks.

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15. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 27th March, concurring in the views of the new correspondent with reference to the Bolshevik wire-pulling and its future evil effect on Turkey and in discussing the subject at length, says that from the Islamic point of view bloodshed, plunder and disorder are absolutely unlawful. The Shaik-ul-Islam and the Mufti of Cairo have thrown sufficient light on the subject of Islam and Bolshevism which are as apart as the poles. In spite of this plain declaration, it is a breach of faith and a sin against morality to accuse the Turks of being under Bolshevik's influence that they are counting upon the support of these robbers. The new Turkish Cabinet is not likely to fall into the trap or foolishly run into danger again.

Is Soviet Russia a friend of Islam?

The writer in conclusion warns Mussalmans being deceived by Bolshevik propagandists.

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26. . The Swadesamitran, of the 20th March, contains the lecuture said to have been delivered by its editor at a meeting held on the 18th idem under the auspices of this union, in the course of which, while appealing to labourers to be careful in choosing only such of the political leaders as take an interest in them as their representatives in the Legislative Council if they are given the franchise, he remarks:--You will be losing your rights if you allow the Government to nominate some representatives for you. They may promise to do much. Even our Government have been doing only like this and landed us in this pass. So there will be no use, unless you claim the right of returning some among yourselves.

The Madras Printers' Union.

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33. Indians in the public service.

Referring to the fact that there are only three Indians among the 70 persons appointed Assistant Engineers by the Secretary of State in the Public Works Department and in the railways subject to the control of Government, the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd March, says:--

When three out of 70 appointments have been given to the Indians who can deny that the aim of His Majesty's Government is to take in Indians more and more for the appointments under Government! Major Russel stated at the municipal meeting last Saturday that it was difficult to get really competent men in England to accept appointments in other countires. So all the 67 persons appointed by the Secretary of State should be third-rate and fourth-rate men. It is a question whether even these three appointments would have been given to the Indians, if proper men were available in England!

The strike at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills.

36. The Desabhaktan, of the 24th March, publishes the proceedings of the first meeting held by the strikers on the 23rd idem, while the Swadesamitran of the 25th idem reproduces the proceedings of the second meeting held by them on the next day.

6 In the course of a leader under the heading 'Lord Willingdon's impartiality' the Desabhaktan, of the 25th March, comments as follows upon the attitude of the Government in the matter of this strike:--Lord Willingdon is not new to India. He has had his play of several kinds as the Governor of Bombay. The lecture delivered by him in England, when he was appointed Governor of Madras, is still fresh in our memory. We know well that he is a supporter of the moderates. But we believed that he would not do harm to the nationalists. Even this belief is waning now. Mr.Paddison, whose appointmant as Labour Commissioner infused in us some confidence in His Excellency's sympathy with the Labour movement, has swerved from the right course in the case of the employees in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. We regret to see that he did not pasue to t ink whether it is the mill authorities or the operatives that acted aga nst his decision. If he had understood the attitude of the operatives ~~thaxx~~ and expressed his opinion, when he entered the mills on Wednesday, no strike would have taken place. So it is Mr.Paddison's action that has led to the strike. The communique issued by Lord Willingdon yesterday has changed our opinion of him. That he should have issued ~~byxLordxWillingdonxyesterdayxhasxchangedxour~~ this communique without inquiring the mill authorities as well as the

the operatives and after consulting only the former, betrays his partiality. We never expected that he would act thus. We do not see on what grounds His Excellency wants the labourers to return to work. If the mill authorities had published a notice in accordance with the decision of the committee and provoked the workmen. Why should they have fixed a different date to start the payment of the famine allowance from what was fixed by the committee? We pity Lord Willingdon who has come forward to support the authorities who have contravened the decision of the Government. We do not see what justice it is to ask the labourers to "get in," without redressing any of their grievances, which have led to this strike. Not stopping with this, he has levied a penalty on the labourers, who have ~~work~~ struck work on legitimate grounds. It is not known for what offence this penalty is levied. Perhaps His Excellency has been moved to tears by the hardships of the capitalists! When he supports the withholding of 25 per cent of the Gratuity Fund up to December this year, as a security for good conduct, and paying it afterwards, he has to lose all claim to be called a sympathiser of the labourers. It is not wise on the part of one in the position of a Governor to come to a conclusion relying ~~on the part of one in the position of a Governor to come to a conclusion relying~~ on the words of one party alone and without even seeing the other party. Another point to be noted in the communique is the statement that public peace will be maintained and that the Government will not interfere again. These are words of threat. It is not fair for valiant men to succeed in a matter by mere threat. We believe Lord Willingdon has read the sayings of Christ. Let him note that anything

can be achieved by love. We are not sorry to learn that the Government will not interfere. 'We thought the Labour Commissioner was appointed for the benefit of the labourers. But we now infer that xxx he is there only to protect the interests of the capitalists.) We hope even now Lord Willingdon will realise the trend of the times and do justice, after inquiring the labourers.

Referring to the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 25th March, also views that the best course Mr. Paddison and Lord Willingdon can adopt under the circumstances is only to see that the mill authorities do not change their original decision in the matter and that it is not fair on their part to say that they cannot interfere, unless the employees go back to work and adds:-- Mr. Paddison says that he will give his interpretation of the award, if the men resume work. But the award is very clear and does not need any interpretation. It may be said that, as the mill authorities have been supplying rice cheap even after February, they will be incurring double expenditure if they are asked to pay also an allowance of a fourth of the salary. But we learn that the employees have agreed to the mill authorities deducting from this allowance the extra cost of the rice supplied cheap and, if the authorities did not agree to this, the responsibility for the strike would rest on them alone and there is no reason for the Governor to find fault with the labourers. It seems Mr. Paddison and the mill authorities are averse to outsiders being connected with the Labour Unions. But these are evidently unaware of history of the Labour movement in England. When cultured people like Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Colonel Wedgewood are deemed to be the representatives and leaders of labourers in England,

why should not Mr.Kalyanasundra Mudaliyar and others, who are office-bearers of the Labour Unions, be recognised as the representatives of the labourers here? We hope this antiquated objection will not be raised again. Further, we are not entirely satisfied with the appointment of a Labour Commissioner alone, without representative Arbitration Boards having been created. The Labour Commissionr may have to interfere between the capitalists and the labourers. The labourers fight for principles and do not seek any favour. The Labour Commissioner may think that he has done a great favour. That is why he now wants the strikers to return to work, before their objections are considred. Is it the labourers alone and not the capitalists that are interested in the resumption of work? Why can he not insist upon the capitalists satisfying the terms of the award first?

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38. The Desabhaktan, of the 26th March, publishes a summary of the report of the Congress sub-committee, appointed to inquire about the Punjab incidents, and, quoting extracts therefrom in its leader, writes:--We attach a greater value to the report of the above sub-committee than to those of the Commissions of the Government. Sir Michael O'Dwyer conducted the administration in the Punjab more like a wild brute, holding sway in a forest full of beasts gifted only with the five senses, than as a human being having human characteristics. He was suppressing all political feeling in the province. We agree with the view expressed in the report of the Congress sub-committee, that he wantonly provoked the people of the province with the result that they lost all self-control. The sub-committee declares that martial law was in force in the Punjab for about two months even after peace was restored. Perhaps, Sir Michael was eager to see, at any cost, the effects of martial law in full swing before his period was over; otherwise, why should he apply martial law in places where peace prevailed? The report again discloses the fact that, during this period, the Government officials in the Punjab took bribes and committed many irregularities and this in the twentieth century under the British Government, which has established a name for administrative efficiency. The way in which minor officials treat the people and the actions of a Government in general depend on the attitude and administrative capacity of the head of the province. So, the irregularities in the Punjab only reflect on the administration of Sir Michael and yet the term of office

The Congress sub-committee's report on the Punjab incidents.

of this officer, who had not a grain of sympathy in him and who, being an ardent lover of tyranny, hankered after blood, was extended for one year! He was given a higher position in the Army Commission too! But we are not surprised at the cruel deeds of Sir Michael, though we are both surprised and pained excessively at Lord Chelmsford, who is at the head of the Indian administration, having supported them. We have got sick of writing about Lord Chelmsford. The Indians will never forget the day on which he leaves India. We heartily approve of the suggestion of the Congress sub-committee, that all officials connected with the exercise of martial law in the Punjab should be removed from office at once. Do these officials like to continue in service even after the representatives of the people have expressed this opinion about them? Will people who care for honour do so? But many may ask whether these officials have any sense of honour. This is indeed a legitimate question. The report wants Lord Chelmsford to be recalled, Sir Michael to be punished and the other ~~officials to~~ officials to be removed from office. Lord Chelmsford! When are you going back? We will see that the day of your departure is celebrated as an auspicious one. Will you please start soon? Are you prepared to be accused of having been negligent in the Punjab affair and to stand in the dock? If not, get ready for it. O'Dwyer! We have got disgusted with writing about you. There is a heartburning in the Punjab among many a virtuous woman as a result of your fiendish rule. Do you think this heartburning will go in vain? Note that their tears will be a sword against you. O'Dwyer, Johnson, Dowden and other great men! Please think over what you have done to India, whose salt you have been eating. Be ready to answer for your actions before God.

The Swadesamitran of the 26th March also publishes ~~a summary of the report~~ a summary of the report of the Congress sub-committee and observes:--The sub-committee is of opinion that responsible officials failed to discharge their duty properly and themselves committed or abetted the commission of several high-handed acts. As the sub-committee have strongly condemned to excesses committed by the people it is clear that they are not inclined to screen the truth, and it is with the very same attitude that they have condemned the officials too. The people have suffered enough for the offences committed by them? Nothing has been done till now and if they are not to make any amends even hereafter, there is nothing more prejudical to British prestige than that. Justice will be satisfied only if those guilty of offences are punished, whoever they may be, and the public are indemnified. The report of the Congress sub-committee will be very useful to those lovers of British justice, who try to wipe out this stain from the history of British rule. Let the Members of Parliament and those of the British Congress Committee read this report and try to acquaint the British public with the manner in which British rule is carried on in India. Those shot down lost their life or became decrepit. Those confined in prison unnecessarily suffered the ~~hardship~~ hardship there. Even God cannot alter hereafter the sufferings undergone by these. The only thing that can be done now is to satisfy the God of Justice and thereby strengthen the British rule. It remains to be seen whether they will do this or allow the people to be losing confidence. Mr. Montagu and others can no longer plead that they are not aware of what occurred.

12 rd. 42. The Hindu Nesan and the Dravidan, of the 24th March, the Desabhaktan and the Swadesamitran, of the 25th idem, and the former paper of the 26th idem publish the proceedings in abstract of the observance of the Khalifate day in different places in the mufassal.

The Khalifate day.

Referring to the celebration of the second Khalifate day and to the sensation caused by the search of the Khalifate office at Calcutta by the Criminal Investitation Department as well as to the notices served on forty Mussalman and Hindu leaders in Rangoon by the District Magistrate prohibiting them from delivering speeches for two months, the manorama, of the 19th March, says:--On the whole, this Khalifate question is becoming a source of serious agitation among the people. We hope that the benign British Government will adopt such policies and measures as are necessary to suppress this agitation and to remove the grievance of the people in this matter.

The Khalifate day.

NB 46. The Dravidan, of the 24th March, disapproves of the award of Lord Meston and arguing that his decision has evidently been influenced largely by the Brahmans, remarks that the Parliamentary Committee and the non-Brahman community have been duped in this matter and that Mr.Montagu, who has full confidence in the statements made by the Brahmans, has secured his purpose through Lord Meston.

Lord Meston's award.

PA 48. Quoting an extract from this report relating to the conduct of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Swadesamitran, of the 29th March, remarks that the people should feel highly grateful to the Congress sub-committee for having laid bare the real attitude of Sir Michael, who exercised autocratic sway in the Punjab for several years and attempted in his last days to crush popular leaders and political movements by introducing Martial Law.

The report of the Congress sub-committee on the Punjab incidents.

The appointments under the Reforms Act.

50. Remarking that, in every province, the number of higher appointments is beigg increased on some excuse or other and expressing a doubt whether any money would be left for improving the administration, after meeting the salaries and allowances to be paid to those who will occupy these posts, the Swadesamitran, of the 29th March, refers to the opinion said to have been expressed by His Excellency Lord Willingdon in the conference of the non-official members of the Legislative Council convened by him that there should be three Ministers and two European members of the Executive Council for this Presidency and observes:--The non-official members present seem to have suggested that their should then be two Indian members in the Executive Council and His Excellency may agree to this too. Thus the work now done by three members will hereafter be done by seven persons and all these have to be paid from the money of the tax-payers. It is really surprising that some of the non-official members should have asked for two Indians on the Executive Council, instead of opposing the suggestion of the Governor that there should be two Europeans on it even after the ministers come into existence. No one seems to have bestowed a thought on the salaries and allowances to be paid to them. There seems to be a likelihood of the number of Executive Councillors being increased unnecessarily even in the Government of India. It appear Sir Glaude Hill will retire soon and no one need be appointed in his stead; for he is the member in charge of land revenue and as this will come under the control of the Provincial Governments hereafter,

there is no necessity for a member therefor in the Central Government too. The Commander-in-Chief will not be a member of the Executive Council hereafter. So there will remain only six seats and, if these are divided equally between Indians and Europeans, the work can be carried on and the expenditure incurred for one more member will be saved. But the Government of India seem to intend to appoint an Indian in place of Sir Claude Hill.

The Government and the moderates.

52. Referring to the statement made in the House of Commons, in reply to a question, that the Congress party was excluded from the Hunter Committee because they had expressed their opinion about the Punjab incidents before the institution of this committee and that they could not be appointed on the Reforms Committee, as this party had always been opposing the reforms and often declared that they could not co-operate with the Government, the Desabhaktan, of the 30th March, observes:--It is highly regrettable that the British Government should have misunderstood the views of the nationalists in India. We do not know when the Congress party declared that they could not co-operate with the Government. We do not know if Mr. Fisher, who made the above statement, is aware of the resolution passed by the Amritsar Congress on the reforms. He stated that the moderates, while criticising some features in the reforms, had promised to co-operate with the Government. We are very sorry that the Government should make an unnecessary distinction between the moderates and the nationalists. As for the statement

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that the Congress party had already expressed an opinion about the Punjab incidents, have not the moderates also done so and are they not on the Hunter Committee? Why has not Mr.Fisher noted this?

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55. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 24th March, writes:--

National Congress and rules under Reforms.

The statement of Sir William Morris in regard to the number of Indian Members on the Imperial Executive Council is opposed to the view of Lords Selbourne, Sinha and Curzon. From this will appear how difficult it is to know what authority the recommendations of the Joint Committee have and what value, the promises of leading men. Mr.Patel has been however doing commendable work calculated to bring to light the Government view. It is, therefore profitable that he should be present in England to persuade the new Joint Committee appointed to consider about the rules.........As Mr.Tilak expressed at Delhi, the whole world is now enveloped in an atmosphere of freedom and it will be easy to secure by effort colonial self-government for India at this juncture, when Ireland and Egypt are seeking independence........ The reforms cannot be useful unless the rulers and the ruled, especially the former, co-operate. There is no great hope that we can reach our goal merely by the present reforms.

The Congress Inquiry committee's report.

56xxxxxAm 57. In its leader under this heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 26th March, observes:--.........It is clear that those who have conducted the inquiry are not influenced by any bias. The signatories of the report are all thoroughly honourable and it is certain that a report drawn up by them seeks to publish the truth.....The hearts of those who see the number of those who are proved to have been killed at Jallianwalla Bagh, cannot help bursting ....The responsibility of the Viceroy has been determined as well as that of the Punjab authorities.......Without adequate inquiry, His Excellency lent his support to the Government of the Punjab and shielded the authorities with indemnity.......His Excellency did not bring to the notice of the English Government even the facts admitted by the authorities before the Hunter Committee.........In consideration of all these the committee express an opinion that His Excellency should be immediately recalled. The report says that there was no need for the introduction of martial law and that the proceedings taken under it were needless,cruel and oppressive..........The committee pronounce that no act has ever yet been perpetrated under the British rule, so horrible as the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh and that the punishments meted out under the Martial law are a disgrace to civilised rule. Despite this, they are not vindictive in their demand. They only require that the Rowlatt Act should be repealed and that, in the interest of the purity of administratin, officers like General Dyer should be removed from service...... It is fair that the Government grant these moderate demands of the people, and this will be a most efficient

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means for bringing about the co-operation between the rulers and the ruled enjoined by the Royal Proclamation...... The Committee have clearly expressed that, though the riots by the people are condemnable, the measures taken by the authorities cannot be justified in the light of any principle. The Nationl paper published in America condemns the massacre of Amritsar in the following terms:--- "..........A mistrust has taken root in the minds of the English people, in the foreign administration of their Government, who have to vindicate their acts before the tribunal of public opinion..........The Parliament must seek to safeguard the birthrights of the Indian people to preserve their prestige in the eyes of the world."

In its leader under the same heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 27th writes:--...........The report observes that the apathetic rule of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is responsible for the observance of the Satyagraha vow bearing a pernicious fruit in the Punjab which according to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's own admission, is the most loyal Province in India..........The measures adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer cannot but lead to intense unrest in any country. He used to abuse the educated as agitators............ He had, from the beginning, been speaking lightly of the reforms.............He would speak of the Home Rule movement as equivalent to an anarchical movement. He personally rebuked the Punjab signatories of the memorandum of the nineteen. The methods he adopted for collecting recruits and funds for war proved to be oppressive.........He sent orders to Deputy Commissioners to make it known that titles and distinctions would be conferred on those who contributed funds for the war........ Many cases of force used in this matter are found in the report.......A Magistrate dismissed an income-tax appeal,

assigning as the ground, that the petitioner had not contributed to the war loan and had not sent his sons to the fighting line.........What wonder is there that, under such circumstances, the people in the Punjab were excited?..............The Rowlatt Bill fanned into a flame the unrest already rife in the Punjab.

The paper then summarises the cruel acts that occurred at Amritsar where, while people were crawling in obedience to orders, soldiers hit them with the ends of rifles, and where a bamboo stake was inserted into the anus of some persons, and similar tortures were employed against persons who would not give false evidence; at Lahore, where punishment in open places with stripes was common; at Cassur where some persons were smeared over with lime, and others were whipped in the presence of prostitutes; at Guzeranwalla, where bombs were thrown from the sky and gentlemen had to clean the culverts over drains;..........; at Akalghar, where machine guns were fired to strike terror into the people and scare them away from giving evidence;............; At Munianwalla, where the veils of women were removed and they were abused and where constables were ordered to strip the woemn of their bodies;...........The article concludes with:--The report makes mention of many such horrible acts. We have selected a few for the information of those who have no opportunity to go through the report. It is a wonder of wonders that such atrocities are perpetrated in the twentieth century. The Government should take steps to prevent the recurrence of such distress in future and re-inspire confidence in the people. If such safeguards are provided as a legislative measure, General Dyer, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others will be benefactors to India.

58. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika of the 29th March, writes, with reference to Mr.Fisher's reply to Colonel Yates about the success of the reforms:--

Reforms Act and Mr. Fisher.

..........The carrying out of the reforms is entrusted to the Civil Service which has been so far hostile to the aspirations of the people......The suspicions of the people about the success of the reforms are not therefore ungrounded...........Mr.Fisher did not disclose the fact that the nationalists have not been admitted into the Advisory Councils. It was unfair. There was some satisfaction at the publication, recently, of the rules, and people began to express their criticism thinking that the publication was in time; but it turned out that the rules had already received the assent of the Government of India, and that any criticism is now all too late........ What is the good of complaining under such circumstances that the people are not sympathetic towards the reforms? ....It is a good thing that Mr.Patel and Mr.Lajput Rai are to be before the Joint Committee to be appointed in England for the considration of the rules. Letting alone the reforms, the contents of the Congress Committee's report about the Punjab distress, should be set before the English people, who have not so far well understood the truth in the matter. When Anglo-Indian papers such as the Times of India and the Indian Daily News admit that the report of the Congress Committee is impartial. The Reforms Act is of no use to prevent the recurrence of distress such as that which prevailed in the Punjab.........The representatives of the people should urge the safeguarding of the birthrights of the Indians on the strength of the report of the committee.

61. Referring to the communique issued by the Government of the Punjab on the subject, the Desabhimani, of the 14th March, writes:--It does not evince any sympathy towards the people of the Punjab. It does not express any regret for the unfortunate persons who had been the objects of machine guns and bombs. Nor does it show any repentance for the improper acts of the officials. It is at wide variance with the resolutions of the Congress.......

The Punjab disorders.

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63. Reviewing in its leader under this heading the Congress Committee's report, Kistnapatrika, of the 27th March, writes:--.........The evidence that came before the Hunter Committee itself shows that there was no plot for rebellion against the Government. It is an error to have inaugurated Martial Law under such circumstances. To have continued it for two months after all disorder has subsided is a great crime. The committee have clearly expressed that the acts done by the authorities in the name of Martial Law are a disgrace to civilised Government. It appears that 1,200 were killed and 3,600 wounded. Horrible! Horrible!, Was there any need calling for such a horror? It is true that some Europeans were killed. Is it just that in retaliation of it, so much injury to life should be inflicted? The committee have declared that the officers who trespassed their bounds must necessarily be punished. Had Mr.Gandhi not been arrested, nothing would have happened- The committee observe truly that the deporation of Mr.Satyapal and Mr.Kichlew set the

Inquiry into the Punjab disorders.

spark to the heap of cotton...........Is it just that a campaign is led against innocent and unarmed people on the pretext that Europeans were killed and bank-buildings were burnt down, which, we admit, are acts to be condemned? Is it statesmanly or fair? Does not the prestige of the Government suffer, if those that are responsible for this are let off without punishment? Has the Viceroy who is responsible for the safety and well-being of his subjects tried to find out the truth?........He has set aside all representations and supported the Punjab Government in all their acts. What wonder is there that the committee doubts his fitness to hold the Viceregal office?...........We eagerly await what the Parliament will do in the matter....... We shall see if India which has been the right arm of the British Empire in the war will not receive justice! The time has come when the British love of justice is to be tested. It is not reforms nor amnesty that is a test of the heart of the British Empire. The justice of the Parliament will be manifest by the results of the Punjab affairs.

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65. Writing of the Jalianwalla-Bagh week, the Kistnapatrika, of the 27th March, observes:--Though the Rowlatt Act has been unanimously condemned, it has not yet been repealed. There can be nothing more dishonourable to the country.........How can the people co-operate with authorities who cannot respect public opinion. This week must be devoted to the collection of funds, for the Jallianwalla Bagh memorial and also to the holding of meetings to adopt resolutions that it is impossible to co-operate with the authorities, so long as the Rowlatt Act, the root cause of all the evil, stands unrepealed.

The Rowlatt Act.

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66. The Kistnapatrika, of the 27th March, refers under this heading to the Police array, made by the Deputy Magistrate of Bander during the Khalifate day and the week preceding it, and observes:---We are very glad at this display of skill. If Mr. Subbayya Nayudu, who shows such martial enthusiam for preserving the safety of the country, be transferred to the Punjab or Mesopotamia, instead of being kept in this out of the way place, he will have greater scope for the display of his valour and prowess.

Exercise of authority.

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70. Commenting on the interpellation by the Hon'ble Mr.M.C.Raja at the recent session of the Madras Legislative Council in regard to the admission of Panchamas into public schools, the Sampad Abhudaya, of the 26th March 1920 in an article in English, remarks:--"We cannot but congratulate the Government of Madras in having taken a sober view of the situation. Education, foreign travel, railways, refreshment rooms, etc., have been bringing about reforms which even Kings and Emperors can never dream of achieving. It is a thousand pities that a few ~~xxxxxxmindedxxpeoplexthink~~ narrow-minded people think that they can set the whole world aflame to consume the Brahmans, and it is a million pities that among the Brahmans are to be found craven-hearted idiots to be afraid of such a flame. Why should they not stand boldly like heroes? Why should they bend before Brahman-haters as zeroes?"

The disabilities of the Panchamas.

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71. The Kanthirava, of the 30th March, under the heading "what is the real state of India? " dwelling on the Bolshevik activities in central Europe, refers to the conflicting opinions among politicians in regard to Bolshevism and writes:--Though it may take some months for this party warfare to come to an end, nobody need have any doubt that the garland of victory will go to the new spirit. If Bolshevism is to be opposed, the best means is to surrender their respective national rights to the various nations which have been shedding their blood and which are being used as tools for the benefit of others. Otherwise, those very countries which are discontented from various causes may prove a hot-bed of Bolshevik activities, Similarly, India too will have to take her own place. Otherwise, even the mighty Himalayas cannot withstand the impending advance of Bolshevism into India. A contented and self-governing India will be an invincible fort against Bolshevism; the very same India, if discontented, dissatisfied and exposed to high-handed actions, will become a fertile land for Bolshevism. It behoves the English statesmen to consider this contingency and take suitable measures to guard against it. India from her central position tends to equalise all the international differences betweeen the east and the west. It is India that has to solve any problem of war between the white and the yellow nations. Undoubtedly India is the instrument of peace in times of war. It is certain that Hindus will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Moslems in all their attempts for obtaining political independence in order to revive the prestige of Islam. If international policy is to come into effect according to the new spirit, there will be no necessity for the Muhammadans to carry on any propaganda for forming a

The danger of Bolshevism.

united Moslem world. Even otherwise, if the administration is to be carried on according to the old international policy, India may still prove a fertile land for the agitation above referred to. Islam has not become extinct, nor ever will. Hence to keep it friendly and peaceful, the only direct and easy means is to respect its power, prestige, valour, its opinion and decisions. We trust that the world's politicians will not fail to put into practice the principles they were so loudly proclaiming during the war. It is only then that they will understand the magnitude of the Indian problem. A discontented India will be a real obstacle to the wheel of progress. It will not be so easy as in the days gone by to govern her in the old way. If reconciliation is not sought for the purpose of establishing real peace, who knows whether India itself may not become the principal wheel for a future war? Though a happy India will prove a means of spreading the glory of the British Empire, a discontented India will assuredly be a source of permanent disgrace and endless trouble. With the republic of China in the north-east, with Persia with all types of political machinery on the north-west and with that Bolshevik Russia at no great distance on the north, will it be possible to hold an autocratic sway in India? It is mere foolishness. Even the gods dare not attempt it. Even if perchance the Legislative Council were to spend all their time in framing and enforcing repressive measures, that policy cannot succeed. We, therefore, earnestly pray for the world's peace, international good will, political equality, fellow-feeling, the fair name of the British Empire and the preservation of the Imperial authority and the inauguration and progress of democracy in India.

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72. Referring to Lord Meston's award of the number of seats to be reserved for non-Brahmans in the Madras Legislative Council, the Manorama, of the 23rd March, takes exception to the removal of Calicut from the list of municipalities having a seat in the Legislative Council. It fails to see in what respect Cocanada and Vizagapatam can be considered more important than Calicut and on what basis this new arrangement has been made. In any case the Calicut municipal Council should protest against this arrangement. If Lord Meston's award should be the final settlement of this question, we shall ever have to remember his Lordship's name in connexion with a decision which has done particular harm to Calicut. Both the Malabar District Conference and the leaders of the people should also protest against this award.

Lord Meston's award.

Writing on the same subject, the Kerala Patrika, of the 20th March, points out that the net result of this Brahman versus non-Brahman controversy has been the reduction of the number of seats allotted to Malabar from three to two and a similar reduction to some other districts also, and that the non-Brahmans reaped no special benefit whatever. It regrets that wiser counsels did not prevail with the non-Brahman leaders, and hopes that at least for the future they will learn a lesson from this experience and be willing to settle their affairs between themselves without mutual hatred and jealously.

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76. The Desavhimani, of the 21st March, publishes an article contributed under this heading which examines the powers of the Provincial Legislative Councils in the matter of framing laws and finds that the Governors have more powers in the matter than the Legislative Councils, and that the safeguards provided against the arbitrary interference of Governors are only apparent.

The Reforms Act.

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77. The Desabhimani, of the 14th March, writes on the subject:--We learn that the Press Act will be amended. Both the moderates and the nationalists demand its repeal. Will our Government ever pay heed to public opinion? Will they at least make the amendments advantageous? We have no faith that they will do so.

The Press Act.

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81. Giving instances to prove that the Native States have adopted many measures which are still under consideration in British India, the Swadesamitran of the 30th March refers to the question put to Mr.V.P.Madhava Rao in England as to why the Native States have not yet granted complete powers to the people, which those in British India are now claiming, and says:-- If the Native States had complete freedom, they would guide British India in many ways. Even in their present circumscribed condition, they boldly go in advance in certain respects. So, if they have not yet granted complete powers to the people, it should be due to the bureaucracy in India, which is controlling these States also. But considering some reforms introduced by them recently, it is clear that the chiefs in these States have no objection to grant liberty to the people and share the administrative responsibility with them.

The Native States and British India.

For the week ending 10th April, 1920.

NO. 15 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 5th April, has the following:--

The Punjab Affair.

"The sub-committee has given its decision and the report of the Hunter Committee is daily expected by the anxious public. We do not want to conjecture what the recommendations of the Hunter's Committee would be, but one thing is certain that the country is going to be divided strongly and we fear, most persistently and resolutely, on this vital question. We believe we are right when we aver that the future stability and continuance of the Indian connexion with Britain depends upon the attitude which the British public adopts in the settlement of this question. With a few exceptions, the whole body of public organs have stated that the British honour would be compromised unless the guilty in the Punjab affair are dealt with adequately in the light of law and British consitution. The question, like the Khalifate, has assumed an international importance and as such it is practically impossible to shelve it in the way suggested by the sub-committee."

In a fifth leader referring to the report of the commissioners appointed by the Indian National Congress to inquire into the Punjab disorders, the Hindu, of the 7th April, comments as follows:--"The commissioners have remarked that Sir Michael O'Dwyer invited violence from

the people so that he could crush them. That is a serious charge to make. Yet the studied moderation of the committee's language and the judicial nature of the conclusions forbid the suggestion that the charge has been lightly made.........Let us see what measures he took in setting the stage for his grand climax. He was perfectly cognisant of the temper of the people, of the pitch to which his methods of saving the empire had driven them. He had forfeited the confidence of the educated classes, the natural leaders of the people. He condemned them and feared them as the poisonous fungus-growth in his garden of Eden. He would have none of them. There is ample evidence in the events of April 1919 to show that up to a point the masses were perfectly tractable, quite ready to listen to their leaders and quite innocent of any ideas of violence. We say up to a point, because when feelings are violently inflamed the saner elements are thrust into the background, the leaders are helpless and the forces of violence hold sway. That is a characteristic of the mob-mind not confined to India or the Punjab. Thus on April 6 there was a complete and perfectly peaceful hartal at Amritsar. On the 9th, the Sri Rama Navami day, there was a remarkable exhibition of Hindu-Moslem fraternisation. These two events were in Sir Michael's view merely overt acts in the rebellion which his exuberant fancy and uneasy conscience had conjured up. With the characteristic panic of the "strong man" who mistakes provocative violence for strength, he took "strong measures," basing his actions on the scale of the rebellion that was not, but which in his fancy, whether the wish was the father to the thought must remain unclear- was on the point of blazing up............. Then came the hour of madness. We have no more desire than the commissioners have to minimise the excesses of

the crowd. But we do hold and strongly that the provocation offered was very great........There is no question that in India the authorities are too ready to take extreme measures on the slightest provocation. The sanctity of human life has no application in India. The average official has always the mutiny in the background of his mind and is always ready to anticipate the worst. In the case of Amritsar it led to events for which by rights the British nation ought to do penance in sack-cloth and ashes before the world for the crimes of its servants."

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3. The Hindu, of the 5th April, remarks:--

Mr.Montagu and the Hunter report.

"A Reuter telegram states that Mr.Montagu is considering the Hunter Report and proposes to take action before publishing it. The course adopted seems to us extraordinary, though in keeping with the hole-and corner methods adopted by the India office. Mr. Montagu has now both the reports before him while the country has only one. The unofficial report is a sufficiently damning one on which the public opinion has expressed itself clearly. The vast majority of the Indian Press, as well as the Provincial Conferences in Bombay and the Punjab, have emphatically dissented from the recommendation of the unofficial committee as to the nature of the punishments for the official offenders.... The country is clear that the punishment suggested is scandalously inadequate. We are for our part apprehensive that Mr.Montagu will endeavour to play off the one against the other and make a show of doing justice and vindicating the British name" by nominal punishments urging the

unofficial committee's moderation in this behalf.
India has no desire to be vindictive but she has at least the right to demand that there shall be some proportion between the crime and the punishment. Her future imperatively demands that the spirit which is quite alive and active in the bureaucracy to-day, and of which the Punjab episode was an ebullition and not a mere isolated phenomenon should be eradicated. Self-government and the white-man's burden are mutually exclusive terms.........
Nor is the latest of Mr.Montagu's "hush-hush" stunts calculated to reassure the public mind that justice will be done.......Mr.Montagu ought to recognise that now is no time for devious ways and crooked counsels. India has made up her mind as to the offenses and the punishment. Any palliating or condoning of them she will inevitably regard as a blot on British honour and justice."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

7\. Indians in Africa.

Referring to the news, received from Mr. Andrews, that the condition of Indians in Africa is very miserable, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd April, writes:--All are aware of the sufferings undergone by Mr. Gandhi to relieve the hardships of the Indians in South Africa. Many of his disciples even sacrificed their lives for this. As soon as the war began, the Indians volunteered for service and did their work to the satisfaction of their superiros. But, when even mischievous deities can be gained over by sacrifices and praises, the whites the South Africa cannot be pleased. Their obstinacy increases day by day and they are creating as many difficulties as possible for the Indians, so as to make them run away from South Africa. If they have the least interest in and regard for the British Empire, they will not venture to do so. The Indians have, as the subjects of the King-Emperor, all the privileges enjoyed by the other subjects of the Empire. ~~If the King-Emperor, all the privileges enjoyed by the other subjects of the Empire.~~ If the King-Emperor is to agree to a law prohibiting the South Africans from acquiring property in India. If the Europeans in South Africa do not want to place the British Imperial officials in this difficult position, they will do well not to take so much trouble to root out the Indians. Seeing that the nationalists have obtained many seats in the Parliament there in the recent election, we do not see how far Sir Benjamin Robertson can safeguard the interests of the Indians. This hatred of Indians seems to have spread throughout Africa now.

But our people there cannot leave the place, merely because the Europeans want it. Many of them have been born and bred up there and they have no idea whatever about India. So South Africa and East Africa are as much the birthplace of the Europeans as of our people and the latter have as much of interest in that country as the former, on the ground of having been there for several years or centuries. But one privilege enjoyed by the Europeans there is denied to our people and that is the strength of having members of their race in the Government of the country. Still we have the greater strength of the British Government, which is above the Colonial Government, and it is bound to see that we are not unjustly insulted in any place within the Empire. The authorities have, however, been behaving in such a manner as to make us suspect that they have not discharged this responsibility. We come of a respectable stock and we have still many rare qualities which civilised countries should copy from us. The British Empire is deriving many benefits from India and, without India, the glory of the Empire will wane. It is India that has to supply raw products for the industries of the other countries in the Empire. So the Empire cannot afford to neglect us. We are prepared to live amicably with even the South Africans. But, if the British Government allow one inferior to us in hereditary greatness and present qualities to insult us, how can we have a love for them? They should try to bring round the South Africans either by kindness or threat. If this is not possible, the British Government should choose between the loyalty of the South Africans and that of the Indians. Sufficient proof was available during the recent war of the fact that the loyalty of the Indians can be relied

relied upon and not that of the South Africans. God alone knows what will be the end.)

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9. Anent the news that the Bolsheviks are proceeding to the frontiers of Afghanistan, the Desabhaktan, of the 7th April, says:--It is not known how the friendly feeling now existing between the Bolsheviks and the Afghans will end. It is certain that those, who are aware of the history and actions of the Bolsheviks, will not be in friendly relations with them. If the Afghans should be taken in by the devices of the Bolsheviks, they will have to undergo serious difficulties. Ever since the Amir began his rule, his desire has, perhaps, been to keep his kingdom in a disturbed condition!

The devices of the Bolsheviks.

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13. The Sudarsini, of the 15th March, says under this heading:--As this problem is religious one, the authorities should deal with it with farsightedness. Otherwise it may give rise to many an eivl. The Muhammadans do not hesitate to sacrifice often their lives for the sake of their religion. Even ignorant Muhammadans are exicted when they hear anything about this question. The statesmen in England should do the needful to avert any great commotion among the Muhammadans population by freeing them from anxiety about the question without paying regard to the attitude of the heads of the Christian religion. The Muhammadans

The Khalifate problem.

should follow the advice of Mr.Gandhi and win their object by constitutional agitation and by adopting the Satyagraha vow.

The Durbar of the 15th March (received on the 25th Marbh) has the following note:--

The question of Constantinople is very formidable. Orders have been issued that the British army and the Navy should occupy the city of Constantinople. It is said that the French and the Italians will go to their aid. It is not known how this question may end.

The Khalifate and the Premier.

14. The Lokaprakasam, of the 29th March, points out that the reply of Mr.Lloyd George to the Khalifate deputation is not at all satisfactory, thinks that it is not becoming on his part to have given such a reply in as much as he had in January 1918 given the assurance that the land of nativity of the Turks would be left in their own possession, and that it is doubtful whether the world will enjoy peace if matters are settled as stated ~~xxexsettledxxx~~ by the Premier, and observes that considering the loyalty of the Indian Mussalmans and the fact that the Sultan cannot do anything against the wishes of the Allies it will be advisable to leave Turkey in her former condition.

The Kerala Patrika, of the 27th March, also thinks that the reply will not give satisfaction to the Khalifate Conference but commends to their special

attention the fact that there is no room to protest against the action of the Allies in view of the heartless massacre of the Armenians by the Turks. It is of opinion that the action of the Allies will not in any way affect the powers of the Kaliph and that it will be advisable for the Moplas of Malabar who are akin to the Arabs to support the opinions of the Arab Mussalmans and hopes that this matter will receive their special attention.

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18. Mr. Lloyd George's reply.

Mr. Lloyd George's attitude leads us to infer that he attaches no more importance to the Khalifate deputation on behalf of seven crores of Muhammadans than that of the Labour Party in England. It is an insult to Mussalmans and a degradation of the loyal subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor. Muslims are not at all prepared to tolerate such a treatment.

II. -- HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Mr.Gandhi and the Bombay High Court.

19. The Hitakarini, of the 22nd March, refers to the fact that Mr.Gandhi was reprimanded by the High Court of Bombay for contempt of count, and remarks that this is a stain on the administration of justice by the High Court, and can never tarnish the fame of Mr.Gandhi who shines with a light as pure as that of the pole star.

The Tilak case.

20. Referring to the reception given to Mr.Tilak at Delhi and Ajmere, and remarking that it was far more hearty and spontaneous than the welcome accorded even to Kings and Emperors, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 5th April(in English) writes:--"He (Tilak) lost his case against Mr.Valentine. His non-success has operated as a glorious victory and a commentary of the gambling nature of the administration of justice even in the British Empire. People have begun to say what would have been the nature of the judment and decree of the highest court in the Empire, if Mr.Tilak had been a white man and Mr.Valentine a brown Indian."

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29. Referring to the News received that Captain Childers has apologised to Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar, in the matter of the insult offered to the latter by the former, the Desabhaktan, of the 31st March, says:--

Captain Childers and Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar.

It is one of the ways of modern civilisation for one to wound the feelings of a stranger and then beg formally his pardon. Though we appreciate the conduct of Captain Childers in having repented for his action and apologised, it is necessary for us to see that other Europeans do not behave as he did. Cpatain Childers had his wits about him when he spoke to Sir Ayyar and he insulted the latter only on account of the arrogance of his skin being white. Is an oral pardon the only punishment he deserves for this?

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30. Adverting to the decision of the Government to conduct two examinations for testing the capacity of European ladies in India to converse in the vernaculars and offer a reward of Rs.100 each for those passing in these examinations, with the idea that, if these ladies are able to converse with the people freely in the vernaculars, it will be greatly beneficial to them and those around them, the Swadesamitran, of the 31st March, observes:--The Government are conducting certain examinations for enabling the Civil Service Officers to learn the vernaculars and offering rewards for those passing them. These rewards are earned by every civilian. All the same the majority of them are not able to converse in the vernaculars. Thus the desired object is not accomplished,

European ladies and the vernaculars.

in spite of expenditure of money. It looks as if the same will be the result even in the case of the European ladies. Even granting that the present proposal will prove useful, why should the money of the poor ryot be lavished for the benefit of European ladies?

The attitude of the bureaucrats.

34. Quoting some unsavoury remarks said to have been made by the District Judge of Rohtak to some bazaarmen who had petitioned him to cancel a stringent order passed on them, the Desabhaktan, of the 1st April, observes:--Though the King has declared in his Proclamation that the officials and the people should co-operate hereafter, the petty officials in India are not only not heeding this Proclamation but are also, we regret to note, acting brutishly. We need not write much about this. We would only ask whether it is the whites or the Indians that spoil the good name of the British.

The defence of India.

35. Remarking that the defence of India is one of those items in connexion with which the Trustees of India have been, without confiding in the Indians, increasing her burdens, on the score of doing everything only for the benefit of the Indians, who are deemed by them to be still in the position of youths requiring guidance, the Vaisyamitran, of the 8th March, refers to the proposal made in eminent quarters that an army should be maintained in the east for the defence

of the Empire and observes:--The Indian Military expenditure has till now been in excess of the needs of India and what benefit have the Government of India derived from it? The money of the Indians again has till now been spent only in the interests of the Empire and what has been its reward for this? Has it undertaken at least a portion of the Military expenditure? Under these circumstances, it is proposed to maintain an army and a navy in the east, for the defence not only of India but also of the colonies. Why should the money of the rate-payer in India be spent . for the defence of other countries? India cannot be responsible for the needs of the Empire. It will not do hereafter for the members of the Executive Council alone to come to any decision regarding such expenditure secretly, without ascertaining the opinion of the public and having the matter discussed by the Indian representatives in the Legislative Council, and communicate it to the Secretary of State. When the Indians arenot given an equal status in the colonies and the colour-bar still exists, why should India spend for the defence of the colonies? It is not proper again to appoint the colonial whites as officers in an army, which is intended apparently for the defence of India. There are many Indian warriors available and they should be given the necessary training and appointed as officers.

The Punjab incidents.

39; The Swadesamitran, of the 26th March, reproduces in Tamil an article on this subject contributed to the India by Mr.Ben Spoor, in which he dilates upon the want of forethought on the part of the Anglo-Indian officials in conducting the administration in India and remarks that, unless the present system of administration is completely changed, India will slip out of the British Empire.

The Punjab incident.

Anent the rumour that Dr.Rushbrook Williams, Professor of History in the University of Allahabad, has been relieved of his appointment and sent to England in the same steamer, which carried the report of the Hunter Committee, apparently for safeguarding the interests of the officials connected with the Punjab disturbances, the Desabhaktan, of the 5th April, observes:--It is stated that, if this work is done by a member of the Indian Civil Service, much weight will not be attached to it in England and that the gentleman has been chosen only on that account. If this rumour is false, we hope the Government of India will issue a communique repudiating it.

The Punjab disturbances.

The Hitakarini, of the 8th March, publishes in Telugu the letters of Mr.A.G. Gardiner and Mr.Nevil addressed to the India and the Daily News respectively about the Punjab disturbances and the Hunter Committee.

The Punjab disturbances,

The Swadeshabimani, of the 2nd April, referring to the report of the Congress Committee in regard to the Punjab disturbances, observes:--

Whatever may be the findings of the two different committees, nobody can gainsay the fact that, on the passing of the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab authorities lost their sense of discrimination, with the result that the innocent public of that province had to face terrible suffering. Further, we have no hesitation in affirming that no one can help sympathising with the people of the Punjab for their suffering, or fail to deplore the misdeeds of the authorities under the frenzy and terrorism which had their origin in Sir O'Dwyer.

The Punjab disturbances.

Referring to a speech by Mr. Asquith that the Turks cannot escape punishment for their ruthless massacre of ten lakhs of people including women and children in Armenia even though they should go unpunished for the terrible consequences of their siding with Germany, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 7th April, writes:-- If these enormities are punished in every case, says a correspondent, wherever they may be committed, then the Turks too should be punished. He demands that those responsible for the Punjab massacres should first be punished. We think he is right to say so.

On the same subject, the Sampad Abhyudaya of the 5th April, in an article in English under the heading 'Punjab Atrocities', observes:--"Our contemporary of the Mahratta observes that the dismal and the tragic story of the ghastly massacres and the persecutions cannot but have the effect of boiling the blood of all disinterested persons and creating in them a just indignation. The blood of the murdered innocents calls not only for justice but an exemplary retribution. The question of false prestige should never be allwed now. Presitge is enhanced, not

curtailed, by taking adequate measures to punish the wrongdoers, though they belong to the ruling classes. The fall of Empires is directly traceable to the irrational protection of wrongdoers in times past. History has been repeating itself. The impeachment of Warren Hastings had the effect of purifying the public service in India. In recent years, even Dalhousies went scot-free and an era of protecting those who deserved to be punished dawned upon India.........The Gandhis, the Tilaks, the Pals, and the Roys have become the saviours of India and may India produce them in large numbers, so that the British Empire may become identical with an Empire of justice and fairplay all round without the least regard to false prestige which eventually undermines the foundations of the Empire and leads infallibly to an inevitable downfall."

The Malayali, of the 31st March, points out that a truer report on the Punjab Disorders than the one presented by the Congress Committee cannot be had, and observes that if the reckless administrators are not punished agreeably to the recommendations of this committee the stain on the British administration will never be removed.

The Punjab incidents. Writing on the same subject the Kerala Jenmi, of the 2nd April, observes that it is quite surprising that the English who look upon the barbarous acts of the Germans in Belgium and of the Turks in Armenia with horror do not try to conceal the complete nudity of still more satanic acts in India.

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41. Remarking that the Government in this country have, by the exercise of their peculiar power of favouring those that they like, created party that always sides them and that though, under these circumstances, it is natural for the Government to try to utilise this power to prevent their becoming responsible to the people, it cannot reflect credit on them, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st April, refers to the explanation offered by Mr.Fisher in Parliament for excluding the nationalists from the Hunter Committee and the Reforms Committees and observes:--

The nationalists and the Government.

If, as Mr.Fisher says, it is not proper to include in these committees the nationalists, who disapprove of the actions of the Government, is it proper to include in them those who approve of the actions of the Government? Mr.Rice, a member of the Hunter Committee, is one of the Secretaries to the Government of India. When the contention of the people is that the action of the Government of India is wrong, it is very proper perhaps to appoint one, subordinate to them and likely to seek their favour, to find out whether their actions are right or wrong! We should perhaps deem it to be our fortune that Mr.Thompson, the Secretary of the Punjab Government, was not included in the committee! What can we do, even if they had appointed a committee consisting of General Dyer, Lieut-Col.Johnson and others and asked it to inquire about the propriety of the actions of the Punjab officials? Now that Mr.Fisher himself has stated that it was not desirable to include congressmen even in the Committees appointed to frame rules under the Reforms Act, we cannot complain against Provincial Governors and the Government of India. He said that, even though the moderates also condemned some portions of the Act, they offered to co-operate with the Government. The fact is

that both the moderates and the nationalists condemn some features of the Act and both of them offer co-operation. But the words of the moderates are realished by the Government, while those of the nationalists are distasteful to them, the reason being that the latter call a spade a spade, while the former call it an agricultural implement in decent language. Can the Government conduct the whole administration solely with the aid of the moderates? Who are the moderates in every country but the stumbling blocks that bar the progress of the nationalists? It is these stumbling blocks that the authorities befriend from time to time; but the nationalists always throw them aside and go on with their work. This is just what is going to happen in India too. The life of the moderates is like a bubble on water. But as the bubble will shine with various hues until it bursts, the moderates may now bask in the sunshine of the authorities. As their vision is very narrow, they are following the authorities caring for petty pleasure. The latter, unwilling to give up their existing powers, will try to retain them, by taking the moderates with them. We need not seek the co-operation of such persons. But the people should be careful to see that these moderates do not trade in their name.

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42. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st April, publishes the substance of a lecture said to have been delivered at Trichinipoly by Mr.Chidambaram Pillai on the 29th ultimo, in which he has protested against Lord Meston's award and made the following observations among others:-- The Reforms Act has increased the number of members in the Legislative Council in vain of done nothing else; for it confers no power of reducing taxation, of controlling expenditure, of repealing laws like the Rowlatt Act and passing new ones or of reducing the number of officials. But it provides obstacles enough to impede rapid progress. ....If we do not agitate for Swaraj now, when are our efforts to bear fruit? The words of the moderates resemble the advice of one that, as the crops have been harvested this year, no efforts need be made even now to sow the seed for the crops next year.

Mr.Chidambaram Pillai at Trichinopoly.

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44. Referring to the meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 3rd April, under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Association to protest against this award, the Desabhaktan, of the 2nd April, remarks that the object of the meeting is evidently to teach a good lesson to the bureaucrats, who are adopting a policy of 'divide and rule' and the party that supports them.

Lord Meston's award.

In the course of its criticism of Lord Meston's award, the Andhraprakasika, of the 20th March remarks that the Secretary of State, the Governor-General and the Governor of Madras have credited

The award of Lord Meston.

the words of Brahman politicians and turned a deaf ear to the representations of the non-Brahman, and that the award has caused great agitation among the non-Brahmans, and deplores that the award will only serve to fan the flame of the animosity already existing between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans. It says that the award is not final and that certain members of Parliament have suggested that there will be further discussion in the Parliament about the matter.

Lord Meston's award.

While approving of the object of the meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 3rd April 1920, to protest against this award and the resolutions passed therein and of the Presidency Association and the South Indian Liberal Federation having joined hands in this connexion, the Swadesamitran, of the 5th idem, expresses its regret at some of the gentlemen, who spoke on these resolutions, having one out of the way and used words likely to create class hatred.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 6th April, approves of this award and remarking that there is no use in the non-Brahmans protesting agianst it now, says that, though they are justified in trying to obtain a larger number of seats in the Legislative Council, it is not fair on their part to create a feeling of hatred against the Brahmans.

The renouncement of titles.

45. Anent the reported renouncement, by Mr.Ajmal Khan of all titles and medals conferred on him by the Government, as a protest against the British Government not having come to a proper decision in the matter of the Khalifate, the Desabhaktan, of the 2nd April, appreciates the action of this gentleman and adds:--We have often written on the nature of these titles. Why should we show any respect to titles conferred by a Government, which does not understand the attitude of the people? Mr.Tagore and other great men relinquished their titles as a protest against the Punjab incidents. We do not know how many more will give up their titles in connexion with the Khalifate question.

The lesson of the Punjab.

47. The Desabhaktan, of the 2nd April, reproduces in Tamil a lecture said to have been delivered by Srimati Sarala Devi at Ahmedabad on the 27th February 1920, in the course of which she compares the brute force of the west with the soul-force of the east and remarking that while the characteristic features of the former are tyranny and timidity, the main features of the latter are supporting the weak and attacking and suppressing the strong and the cruel, dwells at length upon the capacity of endurance displayed by the people in the Punjab during the disturbances there.

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49. Referring to the news that the services of nearly a hundred and fifty labourers employed in the Government Arsenal have been dispensed with from 1st April 1920, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd April supports the view of the President of the Madras Mount Road Labour Union that, though the employees in the Arsenal were receiving only daily wages, it is horrible to have sent them away suddenly especially in consideration of the fact that they were working on low wages throughout the period of the war, and that they should be given not only a month's pay now but also a bonus amounting to one month's pay for every year of their work.

The plight of the labourers in the Government Arsenal.

50. In a short note under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd April, quotes a statement said to have been made at a meeting of the Bombay European Association, that there is no difference between the views of the liberal-minded Europeans and those of the Indian moderates and observes:--It is these liberal-minded Europeans that tried their best to prevent the reforms from taking shape when the same were under consideration. If the attitude of the moderates is the same as that of the Europeans, India will attain salvation of her own accord, when these two classes of people come to fill the Legislative Councils!

Good company.

The Government and the moderates.

(51) Referring to the news furnished by the Capital that Sir George Lowndes, the Law Member of the Government of India, has left for England and that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad will be appointed in his place, the Desabhaktan, of the 5th April, remarks:-- The report of the Hunter Committee has not yet been published and yet powers and high appointments are being showered upon Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a member thereof. The very clever manner in which the Government of India are working out the policy of safeguarding the moderates during the period of the introduction of the reforms is indeed note worthy. Is Sir Chimanlal appointed now alone, so that he may be the Law Member in the reformed council?

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54. The Desabhaktan, of the 3rd April, exhorts all people to observe the Salyagraha vow
The Punjab national week. on the 6th idem and says:--The Satyagraha vow observed by the people last year has had the effect of keeping the Rowlatt Act under check and the observance of the vow this year should get rid of the Act altogether. It is only the soul force emanating from the observance of this vow that is capable of doing away with the repressive laws in our country. Brute force can never lead to any good. The effects of brutish acts never go in vain. Will the atrocities of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab fail to rebound in another form? The majority of us, especially the English educated, have developed a passionate temperament on account of our association with the westerns. If these brethren will follow the principles of Mr.Gandhi for a few days, there will be a permanent bliss in their mind. The Punjab massacres were the outcome of the Satyagraha agitation which was started to get rid of the Rowlatt Act. Brute force was up in arms to crush soul force. The goblins called O'Dwyer and Dyer came out to crush a passive force visible to the eyes and afflicted the Punjab by the exercise of brute force. But the soul force of Mr.Gandhi has taken a firmer root in the land of Bharata.

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55. Remarking that it does not understand in what world Sir William Vincent is when replying to questions asked in the Imperial Legislative Council and opposing the resolutions moved therein by the non-official members, the Desabhaktan, of the 3rd April, refers to his reply to a question of the Hon'ble Mr.Khaparde, that the order passed upon the congress prohibiting its entry into the Punjab has been removed, and to the subsequent denial of this fact by the Punjab Government and observes:--Judging from the reply of Sir William Vincent and that of the Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, we are made to doubt whether it is responsible officials that are now conducting the administration in India. We wish to ask whether the Government of India have the feeling of a log of wood. Had Sir William lent his wits to any one when he gave the above reply or did he give it with the courage that Lord Chelmsford was there to support and protect him whatever statement he might make? Such improper methods tend to convert a good Government into a bad one. So we hope the Government of India will not adopt such mean ways hereafter. We wish very much they issue a communique upon this point immediately. We are anxious to know if irresponsible methods are still being followed by the Government of the Punjab.

The ways of officials in India.

The Swadesamitran, of the 3rd April, also refers to this subject and writes:--When the Government of India said that the order had been cancelled, is it not the duty of the Punjab Government to cancel it now, even if they had not done it already? Considering the definite statement of the Government of India that it has been cancelled, we think they should have written to the Punjab Government, as soon as the question of the Hon'ble Mr.Khaparde was

was received, to cancel the order and given the reply as stated above. The Government of India might have expected the Punjab Government to act upon their instructions. But the latter seem to have refused to budged from their position, even at the risk of creating an impression that the former spoke an untruth. A Provincial Government can act independently only as regards its internal affairs and it is the central Government that should determine the general policy of the administration. The Government of India might have thought it unnecessary to continue the shackless on newspapers hereafter and it is not curtesy on the part of the Punjab Government to refuse to adopt this policy. But considering the fact that the Government of India are disinclined to give full effect to the Proclamation of the King-Emperor, who is above them, no one will sympathise with them for the Punjab Government having acted discourteously towards them. It appears Sir Edward Maclagan wanted that all political prisoners in the Punjab should be released and that the Government of India would not allow it. In the case of Mr. Horniman, it is clear that both the Secretary of State and the 427 Government of ~~Bombay~~ India were not against his coming to India and it was only the Govt. of Bombay that stood in the way. Thus the administration is being carried on in India without any reference to an official being in a superior or an inferior position. The officials can ignore the significance of the Royal Proclamation and they can act discourteously towards a superior authority; but we should not open our mouth. So they ~~say~~, as well as our moderate ministers. When the Royal Proclamation was received at the time of the Amritsar Congress, the nationalists apprehended that the authorities might fail to give full effect to the real intention of the King-Emperor, relying upon some words contained in it and this apprehension has now proved true. But our moderates will not hesitate to

to say that even this is correct.

What do the Anglo-Indians know?

57. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st March, gives in Telugu, the article contributed by Mr.K.S.Rai to the Nation containing the following among other statements:--The Indians are all grateful to you for the light you have thrown on the Panjab disorders.......I shall not dwell on the indifference of Englishmen to Indian affairs.........The Anglo-Indian officials derive their knowledge of India from their subordinates, who do not venture to speak out the truth in their presence.

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Christian Missionaries and the Punjab horrors.

58. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st March, ~~writesxxxThexspecialxmessage~~ gives in Telugu, what the Indian special Reformer writes on this subject concluding with:--When we consider that the Government offered fifty thousand rupees to Miss Sherwood, we can understand the angle of vision of the authorities towards Christian Missions.

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59. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st March, writes:--The special message to the Madras Times says that the report will sharply criticise the acts of the officials and the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. When this report agrees with that of the people's committee, what will the Government do? What steps will they take to efface the stain on them caused by the Punjab disorders? Not only India, but also the whole civilised world look forward to this. There can be no doubt that the best remedy is the granting of birth rights to the Indians.

The Hunter Committee report.

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64. The Hitakarini, of the 22nd March, says with reference to the proposed memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer:--The people need not subscribe even a pie to it. Jalianwalabog is by itself a sufficient memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his companion General Dyer and it will commemorate the cruel murders perpetrated during the regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. We therefore request that the moneys collected by the Memorial Committee may be made over to the trustees of Jalianwalabog. If the Committee is of opinion that a separate memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer is necessary, a slaughter-house may be maintained in his name. The words, "Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Slaughter-House" should be painted in red on a big board, and this costs only a little- Such is the suggestion of the Mahratta.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

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65. The Nellorepatrika, of the 13th March (received on the 22nd March), publishes a petition from the pen of a Panchama, correspondent of Nellore requesting that

Panchamas at Nellore.

the condition of the Panchamas at Nellore may be ameliorated
imparting of education to them by the starting of co-operative
by the provision of sanitary facilities and a separate hospital
Society and
for the panchamas.

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68. In an article under this heading, the Nellorepatrika, of the 20th March, says:--Under these laws, the bureaucracy can take any action they please on the

Repressive laws.

advice of the Criminal Investigation Department. Though the representatives of the people have opposed them, they have become laws being supported by the official members and members nominated by the Government, who form the majority. In the enforcement of these laws, great injustice is done to many an offender, and there is no limit to the highhandedness of the authorities. People are filled with fear and discontent.

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66. A correspondent to the Nellorepatrika, of the 13th March (received on the 22nd March), writes under this heading:--

Imperial preference.

The resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on Imperial preference is the first step towards the imposition on India by force of the policy of Imperial preference. This is quite unfair. This policy is of no good to India, but is a source of great loss. The People cannot be enthusiastic about this system, unless India is placed on an equal footing with the Colonies. Should we follow the system in response to the honour done to our Indian brethren in South Africa, East Africa, etc.? Should we do good to those countries at any sacrifice to ourselves in return for the sufferings of Indian men and women in them and for the restrictions opposed to self-respect? The present system of free trade is doing us immense harm, and there is no doubt that the policy of Imperial preference will still further degrade us.

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69. A correspondent to the Andhraprakasika, of the 20th March, complains against the great preponderance of the Brahmans in Government service in the Tenali taluk and refers to an incident in which the Sub-Magistrate of Tenali had treated the non-Brahman parties with dishonour.

Brahman preponderance in Government service.

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71. A correspondent to the Desabhimani, of the 21st March, reviews the Reforms Act and says:-- ....It is plain therefore that the Governor has greater powers than the Legislative Councils elected by big electorates. There are certain provisions in the Act which restrict his powers, but it is doubtful if much good will come out of it.. ......Indians will of course secure some appointments in the Executive Councils, but the opinion of the people will not be crowned with success. Administration cannot go on smoothly unless the Indian members agree with the opinions of the authorities. If any one insists on the opinion of the people being carried out, he will have the experience of Sir Sankaran Nayar.

The Reform Act.

The Reforms Committees and the Nationalists.

72. In an article adversely criticising the statement of Lord Fisher in the House of Commons, in regard to the exclusion of the representatives of the National Congress from the Reforms Committees, as unsatisfactory and entirely devoid of the elementary principles of responsible government, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 2nd April, remarks:--Unless the views of all the parties are sought in the work of administration, it can neither be responsible government nor one of self-determination; ~~it can neither be responsible government nor one of self-determination~~. The exclusion of the representatives of the Congress party, which has a very large following from among both the Hindus and the Muslims, amounts to disregarding the views of the majority of the people. How can the administration be termed responsible government so long as it is in accord with the wishes of only a small section of the people?

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78. Referring to the rejection of the resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council recommending the repeal of the Press Act, the Hitakarini, of the 8th March (received on the 29th March) says that mere amending the Act on the lines indicated by Sir Sivaswami Ayyar will not satisfy the public, that while there are already on the statute book many enactments dealing like death with the life of papers, it sees no reason why there should exist this Act, and that under the Act, the papers can never be happy and their writings, which do not flow from a free and open heart, be useful.

The Press Act.

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79. The Hitakarini, of the 22nd March, reproduces in Telugu the remarks of the Young India on the reply of the Government to the question of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel regarding the Rowlatt Law and prays that the Government will without fail follow the opinion and advice of Mr. Gandhi in the matter of repealing the Rowlatt Law.

The Rowlatt Law.

For the week ending 17th April, 1920.

NO. 16 OF 1920.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in the Fiji Islands.

3. Referring to the telegfam from Dr. Mani Lal to Mr. Mehta that the Government of the Fiji Islands have directed that the Indian leaders there should leave the place within 48 hours, the Swadesamitran, of the 8th April, asks whether it is the intention of that Government that, once the leaders are sent away, they can use the Indians as they like, and whether the Viceroy will direct any Europeans here belonging to the Fiji Islands to leave within 12 hours.

Disturbances in the Fiji Islands.

4. Remarking that it is highly regrettable that the Government of India have not as yet passed any orders in connection ~~passed any orders in connection with~~ with the serious disturbances that recently took place in the Fiji Islands, the Desabhaktan, of the 8th April, observes:--News received from the Fiji Islands shows that the authorities there tried to make the place a second Amritsar. However, no official intimation has till now been received about these disturbances. It is understood that during the Indians suffered great hardships. We hope that the Government of Lord Chelmsford will promptly issue a communique on the subject.

The Khalifate question.

5. The Swadesamitran, of the 6th April, reproduces in Tamil an extract from the Young India to the following effect:--The words of those in high positions will lose all credit if the promises held out to Turkey at the time of concluding peace with her are to be ignored. If the Premier is not prepared to show any consideration to Turkey, why should he abuse the Indian Moslems who were instrumental for the success of the British in the war? On the whole the words of Mr.Lloyd George are inconsistent. This is ridiculous.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 12th April, while admitting the necessity of the Hindus sympathising with their Muhammadan brethren in the aspiration of the latter that the Muhammadan sacred shrines should continue under the control of the Muhammadans and that tracts where the major portion of the population consists of Turks should be subject to Turkey, doubts the advisability of all people accepting the resolution of Mr.Gandhi in connexion with the Khalifate question and remarks:-- The passing of this resolution is sure to lead to serious consequences. So we should consider it calmly and ponder over the results that may follow its acceptance. Mr.Gandhi only says that the Khalifate question should be decided in accordance with the equitable demands of the Indian Muhammadans, but does not mention what these demands are.

The Khalifate problem.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 10th April, makes a very short reference to the speech of the President of the meeting held on the beach on the 9th to discuss the Khalifate problem.

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6. The Swadesamitran, of the 12th April, repeats its cry against recent settlers in the colonies trying to oust therefrom the Indian's who were the original settlers in it and had reclaimed the soil and pointing to a notification said to have been issued in German East Africa which has come under the British as a sequel to the war, that any one may be asked to leave the colony within a stated period on penalty of being sentenced to Imprisonment for six months and a fine of Rs.3,000 refers to the view of Mr.Andrews that this notification will very seriously affect the Indian settlers there and asks what the Government intend to do in this matter.

Indians in the colonies.

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14. The Qaumi Report, of the 31st March, commenting on the official communique recently issued with reference to the rumours with regard to the Allies' attitude towards the Holy Places of Hedjaz, remarks that they are not merely rumours but foreign intelligence is making Mussalmans very restless.

The Holy Places official communique.

How can any Muslim accept the official declaration that no question of any non-Muslim interference in the problem of Holy Places and Khalifate has ever been raised, while it is an open secret that the allied men-of-war have their guns trained on the capital of the Khalifate and their naval and military forces have occupied Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina, Bagdad, Demascus and Syria; more than this, now it is being proposed in the Peace Conference to establish allied control over Holy Places in the name of a mandate? Are these merely rumours? The official communique is seemingly

all so simple, straight, innocent and honest, as if nothing at all had happened in the world!

The very best and the most essential thing for the Government of India to have done was to have dealt with facts instead of with so-called rumours and to have endeavered to remove from Muslim mind the causes of unrest and perplexity.

What is Britain doing? Return of decorations.

16. The Qaumi Report, of the 3rd April, congratulating Hazik-ul-Mulk, Hafiz Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi on behalf of the Muslim community on his returning the decorations and medals conferred by the Government, observes: thus marks the beginning of this kind of thing, and asks what Britain is doing, and remarks that in England at present there are certain prejudiced and blood-thirty enemies of Turkey prepared to do her to death. Britain has forgotton her original aims of the war. Most of the Premier's pledges has been evaded by quibbling. A crusade is being preached in the churches, while the English Press had devoted itself whole-heartedly to a campaign of hatred for Turkey. In these circumstances it is impossible for India to control her anger and sense of indignation, and say nothing at the present moment. Britain is, both by word and deed, making India dissatisfied, and is serving friendly relations with her own knife.

The writer requests Britain to observe what the result of her promise breaking, her prejudice, and what her embarrassment will be like, if decorations and titles are rejected, public servants strike work, commercial

and social connexions are severed, and friendly and loyal relations become strained.

In conclusion the writer says the Britain alone shall be held responsible for anything India, driven to despair, may do.

The Government and Khalifate.

18. The Qaumi Report, of the 8th April, referring to the correspondence published in the Madras Times of the 6th instant to the effect that the Khalifate Deputation in London has finished its work, and is now trying to conciliate France and Italy, and also to the rigid attitude of the British Government in the matter remarks that if the information is correct, it is really a message to Muhammadans to continue agitating for their demands.

The writer criticises the correspondent's idea with reference to the firm attitute of Muslims, and suggests that if an equal number of cables had been sent to and fro from London to India, the Government would have been protected from misrepresentations and the vapourings of the prejudiced correspondents.

(k) General.

32. Referring to the report of the Congress sub-committee on these incidents, the Hindu Nesan, of the 3rd April, observes:--This report has been drafted after hearing a mass of evidence, while the public did not offer as much evidence before the hunter Committee as they did before the Congress sub-committee. Again the fact that one of the members of the former committee has recorded a minute of dissent shows that its report has not been drafted with a liberal kind. The report of the Congress sub-committee would have been published in England by this time and every sincere and noble-minded Englishman that goes through it will be convinced that the fair name of the British has been sullied and that the public mind should be appeased by the culprits being punished whoever they may be. The members of Parliament and the members of the British Congress Committee are sure to din Mr.Montagu with questions on this subject and we hope he will give proper answers to them, without pleading ignorance. The very fact of the name of Mr.Gandhi being found in the report is a sufficient guarantee that the inquiry has been conducted conscientiously. All the statements admitted by the sub-committee have been elicited from people directly concerned. The statement of torture deserves to be gone into thoroughly by the Government. Let the authorities take such steps as will assuage the wounded feelings of the public. It is needless to state that it is incumbent on the benign Government to award exemplary punishments to those who have provoked the hatred and condemnation of the public.

The Punjab incidents.

Referring to the furnished by Reuter that the report of the Hunter Committee is under the consideration

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of Mr.Montagu and that it will not be published until action is taken thereon by him, the Swadesamitran, of the 6th April, aks, why Mr.Montagu proposes to adopt this course, when the usual procedure is to publish reports first and then take action on them.

Remarking that just as Mr.Gandhi has enjoined that the 6th April should be observed as the Satyagraha day, the Government are also going to celebrate that day by executing the sentence of death passed on the two convicts connected with the fire in the National Bank at Amritsar, the same paper refers to the information found in the report of the Congress sub-committee that many gave evidence at the time in favour of the Government out of fear of the police and says:--"though Dr.Satyapal requested the Government of India to pardon these persons, it has been of no avail. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru has telegraphed to the lawyers in England to try their best to secure the King's pardon for them and his request of the government of India that the execution of the sentence should be postponed until the result of his attempts is known, has not been acceded to.

These persons are to be hanged on the evidence of untrustworthy witnesses. Will such a severe punishment be meted out to the officials against whom there is conclusive proof of their having committed serious crimes?

The Desabhaktan, of the 6th April, also expresses great regret at Lord Cheomsford having declined to extend the Royal clemency to these persons.

Heartily approving of the recommendation made by the Punjab and Bombay Provincial Conferences that, after seeing

The Punjab incidents.

the alarming accounts of the iniquities committed in the Punjab as contained in the report of the Congress sub-committee, Indian leaders should no longer keep quiet but proceed immediately to England and place facts before the British public, the Desabhaktan, of the 10th April, remarks:--The British public are generally not unsympathetic. So our leaders should, without delay, urge them to turn their attention to the monstrous actions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the atrocities of his followers and deal proper punishments to them. It is essential that any one who committed iniquities, be he a European or an Indian, should be suitably punished.

The report of the Hunter Committee.

33. Adverting to the report of the Hunter Committee, the Desabhaktan, of 6th April, observes:--It is understood that, before the publication of this report, Mr.Montagu will give effect to the recommendations contained therein. We cannot commend his action in case this proves true. It is not sound statesmanship to delay any further the publication of a report which is anxiously awaited by the public, especially when the Congress sub-committee's report is in their hands and they are convinced that the officials in the Punjab resorted to mean ways when the martial law was in operation and that the prominent among them should be punished. Generally, when a committee is appointed its recommendations used to be given effect to only after its report is published. But as the ways of the Huntur Committee were curious, its report will perhaps be curious too. Whatever it may be, if the Secretary of State should desire to give effect to the recommendations contained in it before publishing the

report itself, it is sure to meet with the disapproval of those that have faith in British justice. We hope that Mr. Montagu will not give room for this.

Lord Meston's award.

34. Remarking that Mr.Montagu and his party agreed to the grant of comm nal representation to non-Brahmans only because of the hard work of the non-Brahman deputation before the Joint Committee in England and that Lord Meston's award has caused intense excitement among the non-Brahmans and led to the holding of several public meetings in Madras to condemn the same, the Dravidan, of the 7th April, observes:--Mr.Montagu's party have not completely given up their wily and hypocritical ways. It is only they that suggested that the number of seats to be allotted for the non-Brahmans and other questions relating to such allotment might be settled in India itself by the Government of India. Alas! the Parliamentary Committee were deluded by the crafty words of the selfish Brahman politicians and by the device of Mr.Montagu who has been influenced by them.

Lord Meston's award.

The Bharatamata, of the 24th writes in support of the award of Lord Meston.

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35. Referring to the observations made by Lord Sinha at a dinner given to him by his friends at Calcutta on the 7th April, the Swadesamitran, of the 8th April, observes:--There is no doubt that any patriot will be provoked at a perusal of these observations. In speaking like this, it looks as if he deems himself to be a prophet. He stated that the moderate party, to which he belonged would ultimately gain all influence in the country and be supported by the people. Our conviction is that he should have made such a statement either out of ignorance or foolhardiness. He cannot be a prophet; for how can one who cannot understand the real situation at present and who asserts that India is not ripe for Home-Rule be a prophet? He stated again that the moderates would do well not to co-operate with the extremists as there was difference of opinion between the two parties even in important matters and that it was but fair for the former to dissociate themselves from the latter. Though it is a fact that there is a gulf of difference between the moderates and the nationalists, we cannot understand how far Lord Sinha is justified in advising that the nationalists should be excluded altogether. Though Lord Sinha belongs to the moderate party, we think it is, on the whole, undesirable that he should have spoken as he pleased without any deliberation whatever.

Lord Sinha and Mr. Basu on the moderates.

Remarking that the rule that Government servants should not take part in politics is not generally observed by Europeans holding the higher offices, that it affects only subordinate Indian officials and that, for some time past, even Provincial heads and others have been openly exhibiting their sympathy, with one or other of the political parties, the Desabhaktan, of the 9th April,

also refers to the speech of Lord Sinha and observes:-- It is really laudable that Mr.Surendranath Bannerji transferred his position as the king of the moderates to Lord Sinha, though we regret for Mr.Bannerji having, for the purpose of honouring his friend, renounced a position he occupied for a long time. It is no doubt in the fittest of things that Lord Sinha, an official, should now be at the head of the moderate party, whose sole aim is to seek the favour of the Government. But the question is whether he is fit to occupy this position always. We would not object to his leadership, had he rendered even a hundredth part of the services rendered by Mr.Surendranath to the country. Our opinion is that Lord Sinha is fit to lead only a small body, holding views more retrograde in character than even the moderates. In delivering the speech noted above, Lord Sinha forgot that he was Under Secretary of State and spoke as the representative of the moderates. The new Lord, after praising the rare services of the moderate friends in England said that there was a mighty gulf between the moderates and the nationalists and that the two parties would do well to stand apart. We did not even dream that he would give expression to such petty ideas. He cited the Punjab and Khalifate questions to show the existence of differences between the two parties. We fail to see these differences. Lord Sinha proclaimed that it was the view of the moderates that no opinion should be expressed about the Punjab incidents until the Hunter Committee's report was published. If so, why did the moderate papers, like the Leader, and the Bengalee, express their approval of the observations in the report of the Congress sub-committee, as soon as it was published? Is Lord Sinha aware how violently the Leader wrote about the Punjab incidents even before the Hunter Committee was appointed? So had other moderates papers expressed their views before this committee

came into existence. While, so we fail to see how the conduct of the nationalists as regards the Punjab affairs is wrong. According to this protector of the moderates. Granting it, how does it reflect credit on them. What we asked for was not a committee subject to the Government of India, but a Royal Commission. Lord Sinha detailed the differences between the two parties as regards the Khalifate question and boasted that it was the moderates that represented to the British the feelings of the Indian Moslems. It is for the Moslems in India as well as those who returned from England to testify to this remark. It is understood that Lord Sinha will be appointed as the Governor of a Province, when the Reforms Act comes into force. If, so how can one, with one sided views, be appointed a Governor? The existing Governors join the moderates and, keeping the nationalists under control, exclude them from all offices. So, we need not say what will be the condition of the nationalists, if one, who is openly with the moderates and is dubbed their protector, is appointed a Governor. Lord Sinha said that the people would doubtless follow only the moderates in course of time, if not now, and that the moderates would therefore succeed in the end. We ask if such words can be uttered by a responsible official. His statement makes us suspect whether he will extend the necessary support to the moderates after he comes here as a Governor and strengthen their position. We very much pity the plight of Mr. Bupendranath Basu for his statement that the reforms granted to us are far more than what we deserve. Alas! Is it the self same Basu who thundered in the Imperial Legislative Council like a lion, on the report of the public Services Commission? What a change has come over him since his appointment to the India Council? But we are thankful to Mr.Basu for having stated that a union between

the two parties is permissible whenever necessary. We hear that he will get into the Imperial Executive Council. Anyhow it is certain that Mr.Basu and Lord Sinha will soon attain to eminent positions and it is better therefore that they keep aloof from any party; for we doubt if the country can be benefited in any way by these occupying high posts, under the cloak of moderates.

The Press Act and the Anglo-Indian papers.

36. Adverting to the remarks of the Daily Gazette of Karachi about Mr.Gandhi and his followers as being a pack of howling wolves panting for British Blood and about the Khalifate movement as being one hostile to the British, the Desabhaktan, of the 8th April, observes:--However violent the language used by the Anglo-Indian papers in India may be, the Press Act will not affect them in any way. The above remarks of the Daily Gazette clearly indicate the real attitude of the Anglo-Indian press. What is India going to do to disprove such blabbings?

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37. Referring to this strike, the Desabhaktan, of the 9th April, writes:--We think that the labourers employed in the Government Press will not be treated as mercilessly as those in the employ of trading companies which toil incessantly both day and night with the sole object of making money. It is said that the labourers went on strike only as the last resort after seeing that the representation of their grievances to the authorities was in vain. We condemn the statement made by a few that the object of the strike was to cause inconvenience to the Government.

Strike at the Government Press, Madras.

Self determination for India.

38. Remarking that, though the Allies generally recognise the principle that each country should have the privilege of determinating its own system of administration, they are disinclined to grant such a privilege when asked for the Swadesamitran, of the 9th April, refers to the attempt made by Mr. Mason, a member of the American Parliament, to enlist the sympathy of the American Government, ~~xxxxxxxx xxx~~ for the Indians, and quotes an extract from his memorandum in support of the resolution moved by him, in which the following observations find place among others:--The American shudder at the atrocities committed by the British soldiers and British officials in India. Several small States have been granted liberty after the termination of the war. But races governed by force have not yet secured their liberty. Why should we not intercede on behalf of the races under the rule of Japan and Great Britain? No reliance can be placed on the statement of the British that Home Rule has been given to India. Great Britain has granted to India only that amount of freedom, which a slave can expect from his master. The people of India clearly assert that true Home Rule has not been granted to them and the Indian National Congress looks to the world for help.

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44. In the course of a leader under this heading, the Desabhaktan, of the 12th April,

The works of the nationalists.

reiterates the view that, while the moderates have been leading a happy life and occupying high positions as a result of their moving with the bureaucrats, the nationalists have been sacrificing much fen securing the liberty of mother Bharata and adds:--The Punjab measures were the outcome of the agitation created by the passing of the Rowlatt Law. How are we to call the moderates patriots, when they court the company of the haughty bureaucrats who have not yet realised the folly of their course? We do not object to the moderates fighting shy of sacrifice. But we request them not to obstruct the course of the nationalists. Lord Sinha's speech should not be ignored as an ordinary one. It will doubtless gain certain classes in the country to his side. He says that he obtained high positions on account of his having been a moderate. Is not this statement intended to allure some? There is venom again in his words that it is the moderates that will gain influence in the country hereafter; for it gives room for the presumption that the nationalists will be suppressed. If the nationalist leaders are suppressed, the Congress will pass into the hands of the moderates and perhaps Lord Sinha wants this! So the nationalists should begin to do their work actively.

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47. The Swadesamitran publishes a series of leaders under this heading in its issues of the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 12th April, in which it gives a substance of the report of the Congress sub-committee on this subject and makes the following observations among others:--Even before the occurrences in the Punjab last year, our people had an idea of the bureaucracy there. But it is these occurrences that proved to us that they would sacrifice the people at the altar of other anger and try to justify their conduct and that the Government of India would protect them.

The woes of the Punjab.

It is Sir Michael O'Dwyer that is responsible for what happened in the Punjab. He was an autocrat by nature. He would not tolerate the proposal only served to excite a feeling of hatred in him against the educated classes and he began a crusade against them. His methods of recruitment for the army and collection of money for the war loans proved that he did not spare even martial races, whom he used to praise as much as he condemned the educated men. When the law did not permit conscription, it is patent that Sir Michael directed or abetted recruitment by compulsion. The same process of compulsion was resorted to even in collecting money for the war. All these measures provoked the people and made them join together and Sir Michael did his best to crush this feeling of unity. When the people of the Punjab were thus enraged at the despotic sway of Sir Michael, the Government of India came forward to introduce the infamous law called the Rowlatt Act. No one can deny that this law tends to take away certain inherent rights of citizens, and yet it was passed in the teeth of popular opposition. It was at this juncture that Mr. Gandhi came forward with his doctrine of satyagraha for the purpose of getting this law

repealed, and crores of people were ready to follow him. The satyagraha day was observed in all places by immense crowds gathering in meetings and dispersing quietly and there was nothing therein for the Government ~~xxbx~~ to be afraid of. But Sir Michael did not like this all the same and he ordered that Doctor Satyapal and Doctor Kitchlew should not take part in the celebrations of the 6th April When the Bhajana parties on the day met the Deputy Commissioner, the pipers sang the national anthem, which shows that, however much the people might have been displeased with Sir Michael, they had nothing but love towards their Sovereign. We still believe that His Majesty's Ministers will prevent this love from waning, by meting out proper punishement to those who harassed the people cruelly. It was the deportation of Doctors Satyapal and Kitchleu that led to the serious consequences that followed. (Here the paper reproduces the narration of the subsequent events as found in a portion of the leader of the Hindu, of the 7th April). All are aware of the unjust occurrence at the Jallianwalla Bagh. But many may not know what took place before it. General Dyer entered Amritsar only that morning with an armed force and published a notice in different streets that no meeting should take place in any locality. He himself admitted before the Hunter Committee that many among the large crowd that gathered at the Jallianwalla Bagh might not have been aware of his notice. Apart from this fact, it should be noted that martial law was not in force at Amritsar at that time. It appears that a boy went round almost at the same time when General Dyer entered Amritsar, announcing a meeting at Jallianwalla Bagh that evening under the Presidency of Mr.Kanya Lal, an aged vakil. As this vakil denies any one having asked him to preside at such a meeting, this should have been done by some one with a fraudulent motive.

If so, it should be ascertained who was responsible for this. Lala Harkishen Lal stated in the Punjab Provincial Conference that there was a rumour at Amritsar that such an announcement was made by some one with the evident object of making people gather at a place and killing them. We cannot believe that the authorities could have behaved with such a cruel heart, though there is room to think that some Europeans wanted to wreak vengeance against the people. (Here the paper describes how General Dyer shot down people even while they were running from Jallianwalla Bagh and refused to render even medical aid to those that fell and how no precautions necessary under the rules before firing on people were observed by him). Will not the British, who rendered medical aid even to the wretched Germans that fell in the war, consider that this General has brought great disgrace on their race itself? Crores of people are anxiously waiting to see how the Secretary of State decides this matter. It is for the Almighty to say whether this is just and fair for the British rule.

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53. Referring to the report of the Congress Committee on Punjab disorders, the Hitakarini, of the 29th March, says:--

The Punjab disorders.

On a perusal of this report, even Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer will regret their evil deeds and smart at the thought of their being responsible to God for the same.

In its review of the Congress sub-committee's report on the Punjab disorders, the Nellore Patrika, of the 3rd April, says:--

The Punjab disorders.

The cruel policy that Sir Michael O'Dwyer followed in recruiting men and collecting money for the war exasperated the people. This flame had been fanned by the passing of Rowlatt Act in the teeth of opposition in order to punish political offenders. Sir Michael O'Dwyer groundlessly interned the Punjab leaders under the Defence of India Act, and abused educated men outright. These and some other acts of his, had caused considerable unrest in the country. He introduced martial law into the Punjab and subjected the people to indescribable troubles. Without any trial, the authorities there have abused, beaten, pierced, and disgraced persons of all ages and conditions and of both sexes, under the orders and in the presence of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. A perusal of the report will show what heinous misdeeds had been committed by military officers. Under provocation, some Europeans were killed, and some buildings were set on fire. This is unjust of course, but to murder 1,200 and wound 3.600 persons in return for this is most unjust and unstatesmanlike...........It is now deemed impious by the people to utter the names of men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer who had acted most cruelly. The committee simply urges their removal from office and does not recommend their punishment. This shows the soft nature of its members.

It is surprising that when the Punjab Government was following this policy, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford was unmoved. Instead of bringing the officers who were guilty of these misdeeds to book, he extended his support to them.

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54. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 5th April, says:--The 6th of April marks a new era in the annals of India. General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer have in a large measure helped to introduce it. The 13th of April has purified the Punjab with the blood of many innocent people. The Punjab has awakened from its lethargy and has inspirited the whole of India. The Rowlatt Bill has driven the people to adopt the satyagraha vow. The authorities could not rightly understand the appeal of Mr.Gandhi and resorted to a policy of punishment. Ignorance, which is the cause of the Punjab disorders, has dispersed, and the light of truth now shines forth. Mr.Gandhi has by his message of satyagraha dispelled the fears of the Punjabees and turned them from a wrathful attitude towards the authorities. Mr. Gandhi has stated what the people ought to do during the national week and we hope that the Andhras will abide by his message and contribute to the Jallianwala Bhag fund.

The national week.

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57. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 8th April, publishes a letter written by an Indian to the Nation, which contains:--M.S.P. has written that there will be no place in India in some time to come for white men or women. There is indeed no place in India for the white men who worship colour and brute force, but there is place for those who love and serve the Indians. It is not possible to show toleration towards the proud who call themselves 'Sahebs'....................India needs still more of those who with white faces possess white hearts. But those white men who have black hearts are a source of loss to our country. If men or women of the type of M.S.P. should ~~hxxxx~~ leave our country, it will be by no means a loser.

The Dyer policy.

News about India.

60. The Andhrapatrika, of the 7th April, says:--Those who ~~send news from here to countries do not publish the people's~~ send news from here to foreign countries do not publish the people's views. In so doing, the Christian Missionaries take the first rank. They spread in their respective countries the wrong idea that the Indians are uncivilised. The Telegram agencies publish the ideas of the Anglo-Indians as the ideas of the Indian subjects. Important matters are made light of and foreign countries know nothing about them.

Savarkar brothers.

61. The Hitakarini, of the 29th March, is disappointed at the 'unkind' answer given by the Government of Bombay to the question relating to the release of Savarkar brothers now undergoing penal servitude in the Andamans. It regrets that His Imperial Majesty's Proclamation exercising ~~His Imperial Majesty's Proclamation exercising~~ his Majesty's prerogative of mercy has not been applied to them. It hopes that the Government of Bombay will recommend to the Government of India the release of Savarkar brothers, and also anxiously expects the release of Bhai Paramananda.

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71. The Kistnapatrika, of the 3rd April, says:--The Government have agreed not to demand any security from the Citizen, an English weekly, published in Madras by the moderates. The fact that on the occasion of the amnesty, securities have not been refunded to the Mahratta, the Kesari and the Chronicle, that a security of Rs.2,000 has been demanded from the Democrat edited by Mr.Pal at Allahabad, and that a security has been dispensed with in the case of the Citizen, shows the attitude of the bureaucracy. Have the moderates at any time condemn this differentiation?

Securities under the Press Act.

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72. The Andhrapatrika, of the 9th April, says:--Lord Sinha spoke of the moderates in terms of praise and said that he belonged to that party. From this it is plain that the moderate party is the party of the authorities. No one them who has any self-respect can join it. It is said that the moderates are chiefly responsible for the constitution of the Hunter Committee. That may be. The people observed the partiality of the committee, refused to give evidence, constituted a committee of their own, and were able to publish the truth. Whatever opinion the Hunter Committee may give, the truth has become known to the world only through the agency of the nationalists...........The Government officials rally the moderates and treat the nationalists lightly......By acquainting the civilised world with their aspirations, by showing their ability in their own country, by firmly implanting a desire for self-government in the minds of the people, and by making them firm-minded, the Indians should soon attain freedom. It is only the nationalists that are competent to set about this task.

Political parties.

73. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 10th April, criticises the remarks of the Round Table on the Hunter Committee, and says that howmuchsoever the Round Table might have attempted to justify the acts of General Dyer, those acts have confounded the whole civilised world. It observes that that paper is of opinion that it is wrong to have appointed a committee, and remarks that the readers should understand that it is the members of the "liberal minded" Round Table party that have been instrumental in securing the present political reforms for the Indians.

The Round Table and India.

The paper then refers to the advice of the Round Table that like the moderates the nationalists also should help to carry out the reforms successfuly, and remarks that the Round Table does not, perhaps, know that the authorities keep the nationalists aloof and do not give scope for their co-operation.

The paper then turns to the remarks of the Round Table on the South African question and says:--The Round Table says that ever since the Indians in South Africa have begun to trade, the European merchants there have become bankrupts. They have passed the Act of 1919 out of selfish motives. The paper does not contain one word of sympathy for the South African Indians who are labouring under great difficulties, but justifies the acts of the Europeans. The whitemen in South Africa are carrying on an agitation under the name of the Asiatic menace and are clamouring for separate localities being assigned for the Indians. The Indians are looked upon with greater contempt within the Empire than without it. Unless the Indians make strong for obtaining self-government their present miserable condition will not see its end.

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76. The Swadeshabhimani, of the 9th April, writes:--

The Punjab affairs.

Information is receigved that the Hunter Committtee's report is being considered by Mr.Montagu. We have already mentioned how the com ittee failed to record all the evidence available and how the report will be xxmplxtexx incomplete in consequence. In spite of this drawback, it would have been something if, even on this insufficient basis, it were possible to bring the offenders to justice. But there is the Indemnity Act to protect them. We believe it is due to the courage derived from this protection that General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer gave out the whole truth in addition to the very convincing proofs given to the Indian people of the might of the British sword. Turkey has lost the right to set her foot on the sacred soil of Europe; because some murders took place in her attempts to subjagate the armed Armenians. May we not hope that the British Government which condemns this action of Turkey will mete out due punishment to those who are responsible for the enormities committed in the Punjab in respect of an unarmed people, and thus vindicate its fair name?

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80. In the course of an article criticising the policy of the Mysore Government in regard to ~~permitt~~ permitting Panchama boys to attend the Public schools of the State and withholding State aid in the case of private institutions which do not admit Panchama boys, the Truth, of the 12th April, remarks:--The British Government no doubt holds that there should be no sectarian differences among the various classes of its ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ subjects. But the Government is at the same time partial to its Muhammadan and Christian subjects. When there are vacancies in its service, it advertises them by stating that non-Brahmans will be preferred. These class considerations, instead of sheer merit, go to show that the Government only professes an attitude of impartiality but does not observe it in practice.

Sectarian differences and the Government.

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82. Referring to the speech of the Viceroy in the Indian Legislative Council and to that of the Lieutenant-Goveror of the Punjab in the Punjab Legislative Council, calling upon the non-official members ~~of~~ to co-operate with the officials, the Manorama, of the 9th April, points out that it will not be far wrong to say that to most people officers like the Lieutenant-Governor are beings living in heavens and that the union between the officials and non-officials should begin in each of the districts, and says:--The first thing necessary is a body that will do a thing after gauging public opinion. The non-existence of such a body at present is likely to create mistrust and apprehension among the people. This could be avoided by the establishment of district associations or similar institutions. It is quite surprising that this fact is not brought home to those who deliver long speeches on co-operation.

The speeches of the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor.

For the week ending 24th April, 1920.

NO. 17 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

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~~XXXXHOMEXXXPOLITICSX~~

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The Punjab affair.

2. In the seventh leader under the heading "The Agony of the Punjab", the Hindu, of 17th April, writes:--"We have suggested that there is good reason to believe that the only conspiracy in the Punjab during the period under review was one on the part of the officials, with the 'Saviour of the Empire' at their head, to teach India a lesson that shall be second only, in its retaliatory vindictiveness if not in its initial provocation, to the horrors of the Mutiny. General Dyer went to Amritsar, to put it bluntly, to massacre and he achieved it. The Leiutenant-Governor, we know, was an accessory after the event to this crime. We are morally certain he was an accessory before the event as well. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was prepared to issue blank cheques to his Lieutenants if they chose to ask for them. It is reasonable to conclude that he did not omit to impress upon them the necessity of carrying sternness to the verge of 'frightfulness'.............Now in the whole Punjab episode there has been nothing more scandalous than the employment of aeroplanes for bombing towns and villages and machine gunning groups of people. To one who remembers the vast volume of virtuous indignation wasted over the German airraids there is something outrageously cynical in Sir

Michael O'Dwyer's disregard of the most elementary principles of humanity and civilisation. We say Sir Michael O'Dwyer advisedly, because there is proof that the employment of aeroplanes was an idea that first germinated in that fertile brain. One cannot accuse him and his lieutenants of hypocrisy, in thus employing in an aggravated form methods of barbarity which they had denounced in the German, but the vicious cult of efficiency has so sapped the moral fibre of a certain type of official that to him Kipling's suggestion that 'there ain't no Ten Commandments' east of Suez has become an article of faith..........We believe the vindictive and cold blooded cruelty of the martial law administration has been proved to the hilt. These individual acts, let us however remember, represent the faithful carrying out in practice of the theories of Government of that fine flower of the bureaucracy, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Let us also rember that these things happened at a time when India having championed the cause of freedom had attained a place among the nations; when the people of the Punjab had been asked to bear themselves with pride over the part they took in the struggle; when the very people who were made to crawl in the dust, were whitewashed, flogged and otherwise despitefully entreated were supposed to have so far advanced in civilisation as to be capable of a 'substantial' instalment of self-government. Between profession and practice, what a world of difference! Is it any wonder that the country regards the reforms as a cruel mockery, the shadow of a shadow, and will continue so to regard them till a clean sweep has been made of the whole brood of Johnsons, Dyers, O'Dwyers and O'Briens and light flooded into the dark places in the bureaucratic spirit whence it sprung? What shall it profit India for the Banerjees and Sastris of the future to debate nice points of education or sanitation, if the O'Dwyers are to be left unhampered to slay, humiliate and terrorise her people, all in the

sacred cause of civilisation and right and to the greater glorification of the British name?"

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.-- FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Khalafat question.

3. Remarking that the proposal to separate portions of Thrace and Asia Minor and place them under the control of others is contrary to the assurance given by the Premier in 1918 and that the decision togrant the right of self-determinqtion to some places like Smyrna is an anomalous one, the Hindu Nesan, of the 14th April, concludes, from the reply of the Premier to the Khalafat deputation and other circumstances, that the allies may not decide the Turkish question favourably to the Moslems and observes:-- Resolutions have been passed in a number of meetings held in several places in India to indicate in effect that the loyalty of the Indian Muslims to the English throne may be affected, if the decision is not as they expect it. Mr.Gandhi might have suggested a resolution like this to keep the Muslims in restraint and make them proceed constitutionally in their agitation. But what guarantee is there that the Muslims will restrain their feelings and that their agitation will not cause danger to the Indian community as a whole? Though Mr. Gandhi loves peace, he should have learnt from his experience last year that the ordinary people cannot easily keep themselves under control and within constitutional limits. He had to admit last year that he had judged the situation incorrectly. Has human nature undergone a wonderful change within this one year? The correct interpretation of Mr. Gandhi's suggestion of ceasing to co-operate with the Government would be that all persons in the civil emply

employ of the Government should strike work. It may be said ~~that Mr.Gandhi does not~~ that Mr.Gandhi does not mean such a big strike. But, as we know the contagious nature of strikes, we cannot think that strikers will always refrain from compelling non-strikers to join them.

The Khalafat question.

Remarking that it is the Khalafat agitation in India that will confer the fullest benefit on her and that it has strengthened the Hindu-Moslem unity, the Desabhaktan of the 17th April, observes:--The Indian Moslems are proceeding on quite constitutional lines, without swerving from their loyalty, and are basing their demands on the assurance given by the Premier during the war. So the British are bound to abide by such assurance and protect the Islamic faith. So far, the agitation ~~based on Satyagraha will be continued still~~ carried on in India by the Hindus and the Muhammadans in connexion with the Khilafat question partakes of the nature of Satyagraha and no untoward acts have been committed and we hope the Government have noted this. We wish to apprise them of the fact that this passive agitation based on Satyagraha will be continued still. When the full force of Satyagraha comes into play, no one can suppress it. We expect that the Government will act somewhat wisely before such a thing happens. The Khalafat Conference meets to-day under the presidency of Moulana Shaukat Ali whom every one knows. The patriotism, the religious faith, the heroism, undaunted courage and other manly qualities of the Ali brothers will ever continue to be an incentive to India. Their aim is only to free the country from its bondage. If the undaunted spirit of Mr.Shaukat Ali is imbibed by the people here, then the Khilafat cause can never suffer and, until this question is solved, every one should act like these brothers.

Meetings about the Khilafat question.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 10th April, reports in English the proceedings of meetings held at Delhi and at Bombay on the 9th instant and gives the resolutions ~~passd~~ passed therein regarding the Khilafat question.

Indians in East Africa.

6. The Desabhaktan, of the 15th and 19th April, reproduces in Tamil an article contributed by Rev. C.F.Andrews from East Africa to the Young India of Mr.Gandhi about the condition of Indians there.

The Khilafat deputation.

15. The Andhrapatrika, of the 6th April, publishes in Telugu the conversation of Mr.Muhammad Ali, The President of the Khilafat deputation, with the United Press representative, reported in the India.

Khilafat Deputation.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 6th April, reports the Young India to have remarked, in this connexion, that Mr. Lloyd George is trying to burn the raft after crossing the river that his words are ridiculous and inconsistent and that the Muhammadans should neither be anarchical nor mean.

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17. Referring to the rumour that Mr.Gandhi is going to England, on the Khilafat question, the Andhrapatrika, of the 12th April, says:--His voyage to England makes it clear that the Khilafat problem does not affect merely the Muhammadans. It may appear to be a religious question. But in the east there is no partition wall between the spiritual and the secular. They are interrelated........The glamour of western civilisation has increased the worldly wants of men in many parts of the world and is depriving them of eternal happiness. If it extends to Turkey also, the way will be paved for the complete effacement of eastern civilisation. Mr.Gandhi is earnest about the Khalafat question, because he wants to avert any such mishap overtaking the Asiatic continent...... The League of Nations has been formed in name. The Principle of self-determination has been talked about again and again. What is the result? These things have served only to cover the selfishness of the different nations........France is occupying German territory without even attempting to obtain the consent of the English. England refuses to stand responsible for the act of France. Can western civilisation which has brought a series of troubles to the world and is a source of unending sorrow, give eternal happiness to man. If it cannot, is it not proper to prevent that civilisation from completely destroying the eastern civilisation? The Khilafat movement only unfolds this principle. Mr.Gandhi will explain to the westerners how the eastern civilisation will decline if the Turkish Empire falls into their hands, and how such an event will injuriously affect not only the Turks but the whole world. He is as much interested in the English as in the Indians. His voyage to England will conduce to the well-being of the world. ....It is through the efforts of Mr.Gandhi that the wretched condition of the Punjab has been

Mr.Gandhi's voyage to England.

published to the world. In order that the horrible acts perpetrated in the Punjab may not be repeated, the birthrights of the Indians should be safeguarded by legislatiion. No one is more competent than Mr. Gandhi to preach this to the English. We trust that the message of Mr. Gandhi will largely help to make justice the basis of the reconstruction of the world.

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20. The Qaumi Report, of the 11th April, ~~expresses surprise that while the British Premier~~ traversing Sir Sivaswami Ayyar's views that the Muslim sentiments with regard to the Khilafat question favouring a severance of relations with the Government, if it be decided against their desires will be fraught with great danger, asks what other preceduce he would suggest to them.

Greek atrocities in Smyrna.

The writer submits that Muslims are better acquainted with their national eifhra and the rights of their country than Sir Sivaswami Ayyar. The question of the Khilafat is of our religious rights. If all the Hindus forsook us, and even went over to our enemy, it would ~~xxx~~ be impossible for them to make us swerve a hair's breadth from the path of faith. Our destiny is in the hands of God, and our mind in our control- We have not yet arrived at any definite decision. When the time comes, we will give ourselves up to our Holy Faith which may lead us whither it will.

The Madras Presidency Khilafat Conference.

21. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 12th April, referring to the grand scale on which meetings of the Presidency Khilafat Conference have been arranged to be held on the 17th and 18th instant in a pandal, remarks. We have not been opposed to conference nor are we in favour of it now. We always supported the cause of every kind of peaceful procedure. We do not wish that Muhammadans should ...ir influence through much talk. It is a hard request that they should be required to threaten the Government with the cessation of co-operation with it.

Muhammadan's religious duty.

22. The Qaumi Report, of the 12th April, referring to the arrest and deportation of Sheikhul-Islam, observes that it is high time for Muhammadans to abandon their customs, habits, ideas of expediency and farsightedness, and settle the vital question of Islam.

The writer appeals to Muhammadans to have recourse to constitutional agitation and not to commit a breach of the peace or do any mischief.

The writer, denouncing the charges of Armenian massacre by the Turks as false and unfounded, says that Europe has taken advantage of its old protest to seize Constantinople. We ask Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson whether a committee has investigated the report of Armenian massacre. The Turks might have punished Armenian rebels, have not the innocent been punished in Ireland and Amritsar? If so, why should Armenia be specially favoured? Why has Europe suddenly become so sympathetic, and why does she wish to take Constantinople from the Turks on such a trifling excuse?

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28. In a leader under this heading, the Desabhaktan, of the 7th April, observes:--It is foolishness that we, who lead a life of subjection, should allow differences of views, race and creed to grow among us. It is the duty of true patriots to impress on all born in India the truth of the saying "we are subject to none".........Should not people of all classes here become nationalists and detest a life of subjection? So, is it not incumbent on all patriots to infuse a nationalistic spirit in every class? Those who dislike this are only traitors to the country.

"We are subject to none".

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30. Referring to the news that the representations made by the women working in the Madura mills about the indignities offered to them by the head maistri were not heeded by the Manager of the Mills, the Desabhaktan, of the 14th April, warns the mill authorities not to judge Indian women on the standard of western women, who act brutishly in any way they please and observes:-- Indian women are goddesses of chastity and embodiments of patience. Our mother Bharata will endure anything but her affectionate daugheters feeling vexed and shedding tears.

Women labourers in the Madura Mills.

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31. The Desabhaktan, of the 14th April, writes:--We think it is very necessary that a deputation should at once proceed to England to acquaint the British public with the cruel incidents in the Punjab last year. The report of the Punjab Government about these incidents contains many false statements. This will become patent, if the official report and that of the Congress sub-committee are compared with each other. So, the latter report should be spread widely throughout England. a deputation should, therefore, start for England immediately for doing this and for delivering lectures all over England about the truth in regard to the Punjab affairs.

A deputation to England about the Punjab incidents.

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34. Referring with satisfaction to the Government of Lord Willingdon having after all refunded the amount of Rs.10,000 paid as security for New India, by Mr.Telang, the Desabhaktan, of the 15th April, asks what is to become of the securitites given by other papers and observes:--It is many days since the Royal Proclamation was issued and it is equally long since Lord Willingdon passed orders in connexion with that Proclamation. Why are the Government of Madras still inattentive as regards other newspapers?

Refund of the security paid by New India.

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36. The Desabhaktan, of the 10th and 12th April, reproduces in Tamil the evidence said to have been given by Moulvi Ghulam Jeelani before the Congress sub-committee about the atrocities of the police in Amritsar.

The Punjab incidents.

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37. The Desabhaktan and the Swadesamitran, of the 12th April publish the proceedings of the public meeting held in Madras on the 11th idem by the non-Brahmans to celebrate Punjab national week, in which Mr.T.V.Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar is reported to have made some observations about the Government evincing no sincere love towards the people, the 'brutish nature' of the western political principles and the fact of the westerns not acting up to the preachings of Christ and one Mr.Kandaswami Pillai is said to have dilated upon the 'retrograde' laws of the British Government and remarked that there would be no peace in the country untill the Rowlatt Law was repealed.

The Punjab national week.

The Swadesamitran and the Desabhaktan, of the 14th April, reproduce in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held in Madras on the 13th idem under the presidency of Mr.S.Srinivasa Ayyanger to collect money for the Jallianwalla Bagh memorial.

The Swadesamitran, of the 14th April, publishes the proceedings of meetings held at Tiruvadi in connexion with this week, at one of which one Mr. Subrahmanya Mudaliyar is reported to have stated that he required neither house nor children as long as the present irresponsible bureaucratic administration lasted.

The Punjab national week.

The Desabhaktan and the Swadesamitran, of the 15th April, reproduce, in Tamil the substance of t e proceedings of the meeting held in Bombay in this connexion under the Presidnecy of Mr.Jinnah, as also the message sent by Doctor Rabindranath Tagore and read at this meeting.

The Desabhaktan, of the 16th April, publishes the ~~proceedings of the meet~~ proceedings of the meetings held at Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura for collecting subscriptions to the Jallianwalla Memorial fund, wherein strong comment s are said to have been made on the actions of the officials concerned in the Punjab disturbances, and the Swadesamitran, of the 16th and 19th idem, contains the proceedings of the meetings at Madura and Tanjore respectively. At the ~~Trichinopoly~~ Trichinopoly meeting Doctor Rajan is reported to have stated that the Satyagrahis of the Punjab gave up their lives for the sake of the progress of the country and that tens of thousands of such Satyagrahis should come forward for rendering similar sacrifice. At the Madura meeting an amendment appears to have been proposed by one Mandreswara Sarma that Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others responsible for the atrocities in the Punjab should be formally tried under the British law and punished, and embodied in the resolution passed. At the Tanjore meeting, as reported in the Swadesamitra Mr.V.O.Chidambaram Pillai is said to have given a harrowing description of the Punjab 'atrocities' and remarked:--

If the Kjalafat question is not settled satisfactorily, peace cannot prevail in the land. Egypt and Ireland are agitating for securing the right of self-determination. It is only at this juncture that India too should raise a constitutional agitation and try to acquire Home Rule as far as possible. We should no longer allow our foodstuffs to be exported to other countries.

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40. The Swadesamitran continues its leaders under this heading in its issues of the 14th 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th and 20th April, in the course of which, it dwells upon the incidents in the Punjab as traced by the Congress sub-committee, and makes the following observations among others:--General Dyer, who took action on the presumption that martial law was in force even when it was not, imposed as many restrictions and offered as many indignities as possible after the martial law was actually introduced. If there were in India one hundred ladies of the stamp of Miss Sherwood, who magnanimously declined the compensation offered to her by the Government, and none of the stamp of Dyer, sincere intimacy will grow between England and India. But it is bad people that abound in the country and good people are few. (Here the paper gives a brief description of the various atrocities said to have been committed in Amritsar between the 15th of April and the 8th of June 1919 and quotes extracts from the report of the Congress sub-committee on the subject.) Lieut.-Col. Frank Johnson, who administered martial law in Lahore, was in no way behind General Dyer in inflicting unbearable hardships upon the people. These two individuals will always be remembered by the people even without statues or pictures. When asked by the Hunter Committee as to why he directed that two natives should not walk abreast in the road, the Lieutenant-Colonel stated that he apprehended that Europeans might commit some untoward acts, if they saw two natives walking together. So the Indians were teased for the reason that Europeans might get unnecessarily provoked. There was no limit to the hatred evinced by this officer towards vakils as a class, and his view was that the vakils would disseminate sedition. (Here the paper goes into details regarding the administration of martial law in Kasur).

The woes of the Punjab.

Colonel Macrae, the officer who administered martial law in Kasur, himself furnished ample proof of the fact that the authorities who enforced this law acted as they liked feeling sure that they would be protected by an Indemnity Act. Their expectations have been fulfilled, while the sufferings undergone by the people still remain without a remedy. Colonel Macrae stated before the Hunter Committee that he proceeded on the assumption that Kasur was a noted place for sedition, because he had heard so, and refused to state who had given him the information. Lord Hunter does not seem to have insisted upon his mentioning the name of the informant. Several other witnesses behaved in the same manner. All these officials are paid servants of the Government and the members of the Hunter Committee, Indian and European, were also appointed by the same Government and yet the former did not deem it to be their duty to reply to the questions of the latter and conduct themselves with respect, nor was this duty impressed on them. It is really anomalous to find that the officials, who accuse the people of transgressing law or rules, even if they should commit trivial mistakes, are not capable of realising their duties and that there are none to check them. (Here the paper dilates upon how martial law was applied in other places like (Gujeranwallah and Wazirabad.) Stories used to be told of the way in which people were afflicted by despots in ancient days; but no one would believe them on the ground that such a high degree of cruelty would never have been possible. Nevertheless, the way in which Colonel O'Brien and others exercised their authority makes us think that even those stories should be believed. These seem to have thought that they had been granted special powers to invent new methods of punishement. In a place called Agalhar, the people are said to have paid a capitation tax of Rs.2,000 to repair a road so as to make fit for the motor-car of the Deputy Commissioner to pass

through. It is not known under what law this was done. Evidence has been given before the Congress-sub-committee of bribes having been taken by the police from the people for sparing the arrest or prosecution of the latter. But the Government have protected all officials for whatever they did when the martial law was in force. Evidence has also been given before the sub-committee of witnesses having made statements before the martial law tribunals, which were entirely false, merely because they were threatened by the Police to do so. (The paper here describes how martial law was introduced in some places when the people of the locality had not committed any mischief and refers in strong terms to the bad treatment said to have been meted out to respectable men and ever gosha ladies by Mr. Bosworth Smith). The Congress sub-committee have declared that this officer is not fit to continue in the service of His Majesty. But has he not created a contempt in the Indian mind for the British race and will the Indians deem the British to be a just race, merely by removing him from office? If persons who have committed egregious crimes are to be let off easily like this, what do courts and laws exist for?

~~41. Quoting a communication sent to the papers at the instance of Lord Sinha, denying his~~
~~Lord Sinha's speech at statement that the moderates should~~
~~not co-operative with the extremists~~
~~and stating that he merely wanted the moderates not to~~

~~Lord Sinha's speech at Calcutta.~~

~~and stating that he merely wanted the moderates not to combine or~~

Lord Sinha's speech at Calcutta.

41. Quoting a communication sent to the papers at the instance of Lord Sinha, denying his statement that the moderates should not co-operate with the extremists and stating that he merely wanted the moderates not to combine or coalesce with the extremists as long as there was a difference in their ideals and methods, the Desabhaktan, of the 20th April, observes:--We do not see the difference between the statement of Lord Sinha, as it was reported before, and that as communicated now. It is a fact that he stated in the Indian Association, Calcutta, that the moderates should not co-operate with the extremists. It is a fact again that he stated that there were numerous differences between the moderates and the extremists. So we do not understand the object of his now denying these facts.

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42. Referring to the news received that Sir Michael O'Dwyer interviewed Mr. Montagu and other members of the Cabinet regarding the disturbances at Amritsar and remarking that the publication of the report of the Hunter Committee is said to be due to this, the Desabhaktan, of the 20th April, says:--How can Sir Michael O'Dwyer interview Mr. Montagu, when the latter is considering the report of the Hunter Committee? Mr. Montagu is now in the position of a Judge and how can he allow an interview to only one of the parties, before he delivers his judgment? The news that Sir Michael has been members of the Cabinet also shows that he is using his influence there effectively. Still let us see what the Hunter Committee has to say.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

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43. The Swadesamitran and the Desabhaktan, of the 17th, 19th and 20th April, publish the proceedings of this conference, inclusive of the opening and the concluding speech of the President and the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee thereof and the following observations find place in certain speeches which do not appear to have been reproduced in the English dailies:--

The Madras Khilafat Conference.

Mr.N.S.Ramaswami Ayyangar.--The moment the war ended victoriously, all promises were cast to the winds........ Mr.Lloyd George wants Turkey to be a puppet, existing only in name. Can a high statesman say this?...........Even the victorious Alexander would have shown better grace than Mr.Lloyd George did. Is the reply of the latter to the Khalafat deputation a suitable one in this twentieth century, when principles of justice, truth and self-determination have been proclaimed incessantly? ....He says that the British are the friends of Turkey and asks whether they did not help Turkey in the Crimean war. But help was given then on account of the fear of Russia. What did Great Britain do in the case of the Balkan States? They sought our help at a critical juncture and as soon as they have obtained a victory, they ignore us.........If their promises and subsequent actions are printed side by side and published, no other remarks will be necessary to indicate their character.

Mr.Ahmed Fakri Sahib:--~~XxtakexitxthatxMrxLloydxGeorgexxxx~~ Occupying the position of the Premier, Mr.Lloyd George was not ashamed to utter inconsistent statements. Even if an attempt is made to crush the Moslems, Islam will not be destroyed. The devil that possessed Mr.Gladstone is now having Mr.Lloyd George under its control.

Babu Bhavanandar.--I take it that Mr.Lloyd George should have replied to the Khalafat deputation after having a full meal, otherwise, he would not have forgotten his words. When he wanted help, he begged of us. Now that his work has been finished, he has forgotten every thing. He seems to think that we cannot do much. If we refuse to co-operate with them, let us see what they will do. We must demonstrate to him that we have the capacity to make them feel helpless. They have to rely on us.

Mr.Abdul Majid Sharar.--Our progeny should not think that we are lacking manliness. We should be ready for a strong struggle. If we stop our agitation with mere words and allow things to take their own course, our progeny will mock at our timidity.........We have long been subjected to cruelties. How long are we to continue so?........ When the British Government do not care for our feelings and treat us cruelly, what is the use of our knocking our head against them?

Mr.Satyamurti.--When the westerns were almost in a ~~state of wild brutes,~~ state of wild brutes, it is the Turks that inculcated civilisation to them and spread education among them. Should they not be grateful at least for this?.........Can the treaty now proposed to be concluded with Turkey maintain peace in the world? If these 700 lakhs of Mussalmans had been subjects of self-governing colonies like Australia or Canada, could their demands have been neglected?

Mr.A.Rangaswami Ayyangar.--The Moslems are not like those who stay for some time in our country, make a mint of money and go back to their own land.........The reason for

for the westerns trying to drive away the Sultan of Turkey from Turkey is only their religious hatred.........Leaving Germany, Austria and other countries, which entered into the war unnecessarily and committed the greatest atrocities, to be as happy as ever, why should an attempt be made to drive the Sultan alone from Turkey? Was not the war waged by the Sultan more righteous than that of all those?..........Mr.Lloyd George gloats over his victorious position and says that justice will be done. Can a worse falsehood be uttered?

Khalafat Conference.

Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 14th April, gives in Telugu the proceedings of, and the summary of, some speeches delivered at, the conference held at Bombay on the 9th instant.

In commenting upon the proceedings of this conference, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th April, remarks that the resolutions passed therein indicate the intensity of the Moslem feeling on the Khalafat question and observes:-- The Moslems think that the Khalafat question is not a secular matter but is one connected with with their religion and every one will admit that they have an intense faith in religion, as a result of their training from their boyhood. That religion acknowledges the Khalifa as the chief and so they believe that the lowering of the Khalifa is injuring their religion and that those who try to reduce the status of the Khalifa really try to belittle their religion. It appears Islam ordians that true Moslems should not have an attachment to those who do harm to it. There is, therefore no doubt that their position is now a difficult one. They sincerely believe that, as the Allies, including the British aim at reducing the status of the Khalifa, they will be transgressing their religious precepts, if they are attached to the British and the Allies. Still, as they may not be any

~~Still, if as there may not be any~~ occasion for the resolution passed to be given effect to, no one need be anxious about it now. The Khilafat question need not be taken to be a settled one. The Allies may wake up even at the last moment and realise that they cannot maintain peace in the world, after wounding the feelings of the Moslems. Let us believe that they will do so and that no occasion may arise for any one to cease to co-operate with the Government. Still, if a necessity should arise for giving effect to the resolution, we will impress on other Indians their duty to co-operate with their Moslem brethren in the matter. Nevertheless, we pray to God that the British statesmen may realise that the Indian Moslems have all along had a devoted attachment to the British rule and that they believe that there is a struggle between their loyalty to the crown and their fidelity to their religion and that, under the circumstances, they are bound only by their religion.

The Desabhaktan, of the 19th April, expresses its appreciation of the presidential address of Mr.Shaukat Ali and writes:--He has spoken out the truth boldly and conscientiously. His speech will doubtless create a new spirit in the country and confer a lasting benefit on it. Our readers should note his remarks about the reason why Turkey lost her confidence in England and joined the enemy. Actuated by an exhuberance of loyalty, the Indians entered the war and won a victory. Should not the aspirations of these Indians be fulfilled? It is the duty of every good man to keep his word and the Moslems are now basing their claims only on the assurance given; The Indians went to the front only with the belief that this assurance would be fulfilled. It is not known now what will become of it. Every one should note the words of Mr.Shaukat Ali about the way in which Moulana Muhammad-ul-Husain has been imprisoned.

The British should apprise the world of who were responsible for the imprisonment of this great man. Will England pay heed to the suggestion of Mr.Ali, that she should stand alone in judging the condition of Islam and that she should behave in such a manner as to merit the help of the Moslems alwgys? Let the Government realise the truth of the words of Mr.Ali that peace cannot prevail in the country unless the Moslem sacred shrines are left under the control of the Moslems. The Moslems are sure to give up their lives for the sake of religion. Let the Government who wish that peace should prevail in the country, refrain from acting against Islam. Mr.Shaukat Ali's warning to the Government in his concluding remarks does not transgress constitutional limits.

Continuing its comments on this subject, the Desabhaktan, of the 20th April, says:--

The authorities used to gauge the attitude of the subjects from the reports furnished by some officials. But the resolutions passed by the Moslems at this conference are not empty ones, but indicate their devotion to the Khilafat. Those who heard the Moslems speak on them will surely imbibe the fervour themselves. They are sure to give effect to the resolutions, if justice is not done to the Khilafat and the Hindus will also have to follow suit, in order to show their sympathy for their Moslemx brethren. So the Government cannot afford to be indifferent in this matter. It is the wish of the Government that the new administration under the reforms should be conducted properly and this wish is shared by the popular leaders too. If the Khalafat is injured, the Moslems will take the satyagraha vow, as advised by Mr.Gandhi. Then the orthodox Moslems will not be prepared to co-operate with the Government and how can the administration go on without their co-operation?

The Government should note this. Passive resistance started on Satyagrahic lines cannot be crushed by any army or cannon. We ask whether the authorities, who feel elated at the thought that they can crush the soul-force of Mr.Gandhi by means of brute force, have realised the present condition of India. The fiendish brute-force that had full play in the Punjab will not appear again in India and, even if it does, will be shamed. Let the Viceroy acquaint Mr.Lloyd George with the real condition of India.

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45. In its leader under this heading, the Kistnapatrika of the 10th April observes to the following effect:--The moderates know that there is real difference between their position and that of the extremists, and that they lack the union and influence which is possessed by the extremists..........They cunningly feign ignorance of this and set about organising their party. They established a Liberal Association in England in opposition to the British Congress Committee and have secured the good will of Mr.Montagu, the father of the Reforms. The gates of the Advisory Committees are opened only to the moderates. They are admitted to influential positions of honour, and every arrangement is made to make them the Government party.............They have established their seat of authority. Lord Sinha is their high priest and he and Mr.Bhupendra Nath Basu are the Ministers of Mr.Montagu, the personage who directs the affairs of India from London. ....There is no lack of patronage to the moderate party. The European Association and the Justice party support them and these constitute the party supporting the Government. It is high time that the Congress party act with caution.

The establishment of a seat of authority for the moderate cause.

They do not derive their power from the favour of the Government and success will attend them so long as they are under the lead of a saintly character like Mr.Malavya, a self-sacrificing soul like Mr.Lajpat Rai, and a devotee to truth like Mr.Gandhi.

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51. The Andhrapatrika, of the 14th April, gives in Telugu an article on the subject from the American containing statements such as the following:--Our Press and public express their indignation at the outrages perpetrated by the Germans against the Belgians and by the Turks against the Armenians, but are indifferent at British cruelty in India, Egypt and Ireland. It is regrettable that the horrible state of affairs in India, depicted by the Sun and the New York Herald has not excited high feeling among our countrymen.........That the author of the massacres in Amritsar has been honoured is a point in proof of this. Only 300 persons have been slain in Belgium, but there are more than 1,500 such unfortunate victims in Amritsar. The representative of the British in India has killed thrice the number which had been slain in Belgium during four years by the Germans who are condemned by the British and the Indians are unarmed.........

The Punjab disorders.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 9th April, publishes in Telugu the resolutions passed in a meeting of the Provincial Congress committee regarding the Punjab disorders.

The Punjab disorders.

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53. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 17th April, writes regarding the meeting in Madras presided over by Mr.Shaukat Ali:--

The Khilafat meeting.

We publish elsewhere the speech of the Hon'ble Mr.Yaqub Hassan, Chairman of the Reception Committee. He has clearly expressed the opinion of the Muhammadans regarding the Khilafat problem and explained how Mr.Lloyd George broke his promises. He said that the dependencies of Turkey might be granted self-government under Turkey with necessary gurantees, but that the Muhammadans would not like that portions of the Turkish Empire should be placed under the British or the French people. He said that, judging from the way in which the English conducted themselves in Egypt, and the French in Morocco, he did not like that portions of Turkey should be placed under their control.........The New Statesman received today says that there will be a series of troubles, by divesting Turkey of power.

In its leader under this heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 19th April, reviews the proceedings of the meeting, and observes to the following effect:--Those that have been present in the recent Khilafat meeting at Madras cannot fail to realise the justice of the Muhammadan aspirations. When once we observe the enthusiasm of a self-sacrificing, patriotic and modest person like Mr.Shaukat Ali, we cannot help believing that the wishes of the Muhammadans will be fulfilled..............There was none in the audience who was not filled with rage when it was shown how the promises of Mr.Lloyd George were broken. The whole audience were beside themselves with anger when the speakers explained how false reports were spread about the Armenian

The Khilafat meeting.

massacres. There was none in the audience who did not shed a tear, when the speakers described how the Muhammadan religion and the civilisation of the eastern countries would be jeopardised when the Turkish Empire should come to an end.........The authorities would have done well to have attended yesterday's meeting, if they wanted to know the real feeling of the Muhammadans...... ....The Urdu speeches of the pandits of the northern Hundustan excited much enthusiasm among the audience..... ....The audience declared they were all ready to act up to the message of Mahtma Gandhi, in the event of the Khilafat problem not being solved in conformity to the wishes of the Muhammadans..........They are in despair in view of the attitude of the European nations. When they were in a fix, not knowing what to do, Mahatama Gandhi's message came to their rescue..........The Muhammadans are resolved to act up, without resorting to force, to the message of Mahatama Gandhi when constitutional agitation should fail. ....Mahatama Gandhi is shortly to proceed to Europe to proclaim his message, which will be the foundation of the work of the world's reconstruction. The old artificial foundations must all go. The new world has to be placed on unshakable foundations. The agitation about the Khilafat problem may help to do this. When all the measures of constitutional agitation adopted by the Indians shall have failed, they will cease co-operating with the Government. The speech of Mr.Shaukat Ali and the resolutions of the meeting clearly show that this is not a mere threat. Mr-Shaukat Ali has declared that Mr.Gandhi and Mr.Tilak have promised all the help in their power in this matter. When two such leaders undertake to co-operate, this idea can never end as a mere threat.....

......The Hindus are apprehending that ancient civilisation will set with the setting ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ of the Turkish Empire. They realise the melancholy prospect that western civilisation which has hitherto agitated the world and is unable to insure its future peace, will overrun the whole of Asia and plunge the human race in sorrow. They have therefore joined hands with the Muhammadans. If the Khilafat problem is not satisfactorily solved, the Indians will all be filled with sorrow. It is the Indians that have saved the British Empire and the world from Prussian militarism. It is fair that England in the hour of her victory should heed the representation of the Indians and grant their prayers.. It does not become the magnanimous to forget their assurance, when once they are out of danger. It is fair that the British Government should even now view the Khilafat problem with a liberal heart. They will find that it is statesmanship, if not justice, to grant the prayers of the Indians........The British are all powerful. May God grant them the liberal view which will insure the world's peace!

The Executive and Judiciary.

61. The Nellorepatrika, of the 10th April, has the following under this heading in English:--"Now the rumour goes that the present Collector will be transferred from this district and an European Officer will be appointed in his stead. It is believed that the recent Hindu-Moslem disturbances at Nellore had, in more than one way, prompted the Government to take this step. We must, however, confess that the report, if true, comes upon us with great surprise. It clearly shows how the wind is blowing in the official circles and gives a vivid foretaste of the Hon'ble Mr.M.E. Couchman's inquiry on the recent Nellore troubles. Whatever may be the importance attached by Government to Mr.Couchman's special findings in the ~~importance attached by Government~~ ~~xxxMxx~~ matter, the public are sufficiently aware of his utter lack of sympathy for the Indian and Hindu aspirations, as was evinced in his utterances already before the public. We will, therefore, be not surprised if Mr.Couchman, directly or indirectly, helped to bring out this result. We have not the final orders of the Government on the inquiry conducted by him, and so we need not be unduly pessimistic in our conclusions but for some well-grounded reasons. The Government have so long delayed the publication of the report as to give rise to the suspicion that some differences of opinion must have arisen amongst themselves regarding the whole matter. That any differences of opinion should have arisen at all is our regret. The inquiry conducted by Mr.Couchman on the two occasions was perfunctory. It was held in camera and the public had no opportunity of knowing exactly what was taking place behind the screens. Therefore, any conclusions based upon such an inquiry cannot

do justice to either the Hindu community or the local authorities. The following are, however, the facts before the public. The Hindu community wanted to make use of the public highway for the conduct of their processions with music. The Muhammadans having objected, the Hindus went to the Civil Court and obtained a decree in their favour (which has subsequently been confirmed by the District Judge in unmistakable and emphatic terms of law), and sought to exercise the rights it gave them. The position taken up by the Muhammadans would, if upheld by the Government, become a plea for absolutism in the place of the rule of law. When the Judiciary have definitely declared the rights of the Hindus in conformity with the established decisions of the higher tribunals over a long series of years, the Government have no more course than to accept and act according to those legal decisions in issuing orders. If the impression is created that the Government, or the authorities acting in their behalf, would interfere with the civil courts' decrees, it cannot but weaken the influence of the Government and lower their prestige in the public estimation. When conflicting orders are issued without regard to judicial pronouncements, it would produce confusion and disorder.

"We further understand that misrepresentations are persistently being made to the Government by local Muhammadans magnifying the alleged strained feelings between the Hindus and Muhammadans. The Government would naturally have been induced to believe in the several stories fabricated by the interested few. This has given ample scope to the view that the Government were inclined to deal with the question purely on considerations of policy which fail to stand the test of any judicial reasoning. If this has anything to do with the present

rumour, it leads to the inference that the Government are stubbornly inclined to favour those who defied constituted law and order. We also apprise the Government of the real state of circumstances. Generally in this district, the relations between the two communities are very cordial. It is neither fair nor just to infer, from the aggressive attitude of a few Muhammadans in the Nellore town who have taken part in the agitation for purposes of their own, that the two sister communities have no mutual confidence and that they are always at variance with each other. We are in a position to assert that there are several respectable Muhamadans in this district, who sincerely regret for the apparent state of ~~district~~ distrust between the two communities deliberately brought about by the agitation of a few politically-minded Muhammadans confined to the Municipal limits of Nellore. It is, indeed, deplorable that the Government should not have been able to see clearly through the whole situation and ascertain the real state of the general feeling between the two communities."

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67. The Andrapatrika, of the 20th April, reviews the report of the committee on the subject of Imperial Preference, and says:--India has herself to determine a trade policy favourable to her well-being. It is unjust to compel her to be devoted to the Empire for the benefit of the colonials, when the latter want to drive away the Indians from their country. Even India cannot undertake charity at her expense. Under the Reforms Act, the Government of India, and not the people, have secured commercial freedom. The burden of securing such freedom for the people rests on popular leaders.

Imperial preference.

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69. In its leader under this heading, the Desabhimani, of the 4th April, reviews the Congress Committee's report, and makes the following among other observations:--In this report, the representatives of the people impartially examined the causes that led up to the disorders. They believe that the misrule of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the root cause of the disorders. The committee appointed by the Government have not yet published their report......... Whatever their report may contain, who can venture to say that the decision of others is better than that of the high-souled Gandhi, who is thoroughly impartial?..........Mr. Gandhi only demanded that the offenders should be removed from their offices and that provision must be made against the recurrence of such oppressive acts, but did not seek retribution. This is the difference between the civilisation of India and that of the west. May satyagraha bear fruit!

The Punjab disorders: Congress Committee's Report.

74. In an article in the Bhajekeralam, of the 10th April, a correspondent makes the following observations:--The reply of Mr. Lloyd George to the members of the Indian Khilafat deputation has not only completely destroyed the hopes of the Muslim world but has kindled unbearable indignation amongst the Mussalmans. I am sure I am not far-sighted enough to predict how far and how terribly this will spread and what the consequences of this will be............The reply of the Premier to the demand or rather the prayer of Mr. Muhammad Ali, that justice should be done in the case of of Turkey, was grave in tone and revealed a consciousness of autocratic power. To be grave in tone towards the weak and to use sweet words to the strong seem to be the principal signs of great statesmanship at the present time! We can only realise by experience to what extent the adoption of this evil policy which is the result of short-sightedness will affect the peace of the world in future.

The Premier's reply to the Khilafat deputation.

Here the writer points out that many of the Premier's utterances on the subject are self-contradictory, and observes that any thing in them that may be sympathetic to the Muslim world can therefore only be looked upon with suspicion, and concludes with the remark that it is indeed deplorable that the principles of the League of Nations should proceed along such tracks. He emphasises the necessity for an impartial inquiry into the alleged Turkish atrocities in Armenia, and observes that the Premier of the British Empire would have done well not to have tried to hold Turkey along with Germany and Austria in the grip of terrible justice, and sounds the warning that it may not be possible for the Muhammadan leaders in India to

keep their followers from recklessness and rashness in the disturbances which may occur in this connexion. The writer then enjoins upon the Muslims not to use physical force for the attainment of their object but to use their soul force for overcoming those who think of doing them harm and not to forget that their salvation now depends upon this force.

The Madras Times and its sympathy with Islam.

76. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 14th April, commenting on the views of the Madras Times on the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the friendly advice given to Muhammadans that they should not be concerned about it, remarks. We have little confidence in Greeks and Armenians, but we have the fullest assurance that Great Britain will have due regard for the just claims of Muhammadans.

For the week ending 1st May 1920.

NO.18 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

1. United India and Indian States, for the week ending 28th April, remarks:-- "All sober-thinking men who have read with interest the proceedings of the recent Khilafat Conference in Madras and of similar conferences elsewhere will be seized with a certain amount of misgiving an account of the violent nature of some of the resolutions passed..........Our warmest sympathies are certainly with our Moslem fellow-citizens in the calamity which is threatening to overtake their religion. We understand perfectly well that the Khilafat is religious question. We also realise that the deepest sympathies of the nation must be enlisted on the side of persons whose religious faith is agitated by the want of imagination or insight on the part of those who are now deciding on the future destinies of Turkey. But even sympathies must be reasonable. It seems a dangerous lead to give to the country to say that the Indian Muhammadan has to choose between his loyalty to the British Crown and his spiritual allegiance to the Khilafat. We wish to say with all the emphasis of which we are capable that this is putting the whole matter in a false--and a dangerous--light.............We have shown that the non-co-operation policy with the Government of India does not logically follow from the attitude of friendliness in which that Government has always regarded and dealt with this question. It seems to us a strange return for the efforts which that Government is understood to have taken on our behalf. Things

The Khilafat agitation.

Things are surely coming to a pretty pass when we practically declare war on the Government on such a pretext. We know that the non-co-operation resolution has the support of Mr.Gandhi's high authority. So much more is Mr.Gandhi's responsibility. The Government of India wants the strengthening, not the weakening, of its hands in this matter. We hope that even now the dangerous development of the Khilafat agitation will be abandoned. It is, as we said, directed against the wrong persons and the spectacle of the Punjab as Rachel weeping for her children is too much with us. This is a day when rash counsels are fashionable and anxiety for the country's welfare passes for unpatriotic timidity. Publicists in India have a duty and must sternly set their faces against a recrudescence of the forces of disorder for which there is in reason no excuse. The masses in this country deserve to be warned in time, against the over-enthusiasm of a section of our fellow-country men."

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

2. In the eighth article under the heading "The agony of the Punjab", the Hindu, of the 24th April, writes:--"The field of inquiry into the Punjab occurrences that is still in speculation and on which the Hunter Report is expected to throw light has been considerably narrowed by the revelations made by the Congress Sub-Committee's report as well as by the published evidence before the Hunter Committee itself...........What the public awaits is not the Hunter Committee's opinion on the nature of the measures taken under martial Law, for these have so far transcended the code of humanity and civilisation that no two opinions can be possible, but any fresh light that may be thrown on the theory of 'rebellion,' or in other words the necessity for Martial Law...........We have in previous articles attempted to show Sir Michael's frame of mind ~~xx~~ and the nature of his apprehensions. An inordinate sense of his own importance, a diseased vanity, to offend which was to drive him to the verge of insanity; as a natural corollary an intense hatred of the educated classes, the noisy drones who talked about rights for which there was no place in Sir Michael's paternal theories of Government; an uneasy conscience over the measures he took in recruiting and the war loans and a general consciousness of his personal unpopularity which he tried to disguise from others, and perhaps himself, by bombastic references to the Punjab's services and by inference, his own; all these present motives enough for his criminal act in ~~ixxx~~ exaggerating a few disorders into a rebellion. Sir Michael, to put it bluntly was in a funk and acted with the

The Punjab affair.

the cruelty of a weak man inspired by panic, disappointment and a guilty conscience."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Madras Khilafat Conference.

3. The Hindu Nesan, of the 19th and 20th April, publishes, in parts, the presidential address of Moulana Shaukat Ali at this conference.

The same paper, in its issue of the 20th April, writes:--This conference which was long expected ended more in noise than in practical work. It has been demonstrated in many ways that the Hindus heartily sympathise with the Muhammadans. But intricate questions relating to religion are known best only to the community that follows it, and it is not therefore our business to discuss the reasonableness of the apprehension of the Moslems that a settlement of the Khilafat question in accordance with the wishes of the Europeans will prejudicially affect the principles of the Islamic faith. Though we are prepared to help the Mussalmans generally, it is they that should move in the matter. There are three ways of making an attempt to gain an object. The first is to ask for it submissively, the second by kind words and the third by threat. We can help only in the adoption of the first two methods, but not in the last, as we have not sufficient knowledge of the Islamic faith. We have already stated that it is not desirable to abide by the resolution proposed by Mr.Gandhi, but his view has been followed by the All-India Khilafat Conference as well as by the Madras Khilafat Conference.

Indians in East Africa.

6. The Desabhaktan, of the 21st April, writes:--Indians are undergoing only misery in the colonies and their birthright is no where safeguarded. When their birthright is denied to them in their own motherland, how can they expect it in the colonies? The sufferings of the Indians in South Africa and Fiji are widely known and their condition in East Africa is also pitiable. It appears a Bill has been introduced in the Legislative Council of East Africa specifying the particular localities that should be occupied by particular classes for residential purposes. It needs no comment as to what kind of people will make status depend on birth. The Indians deem the British to be human beings and not worse. The stupidity of creating differences of status among human beings generally should disappear from the world. Mr.Allidina, a member of the Legislative Council in East Africa, states that when, as is done in other countries, assignments of land are made in East Africa to those that served in the war, no land is given to the Indian soldiers who are told that they will have them from the Government of India. The propriety of this is not apparent. This should be noted by the Government of India. The whites in East Africa probably deem the Indians ~~who entered the field of war to sacrifice their lives~~ to be mere coolies and think that they served in the war for wages! Which Indian can remain without being moved by this curtailment of the rights of the Indians who entered the field of war to sacrifice their lives for the sake of King Emperor? Mr.Allidina says that the whites in East Africa are ever scheming ruin to the Indians there and that, as the former are in the majority in the Legislative Council, the plight of the Indians in East Africa will be reduced to that of those in South Africa, unless an

an agitation is started in India in the matter. We only hear these words and read them in the papers. Wh t more can we do? Had India been a country enjoying its birthright, will the Indians be treated so disparagingly in the coolies? We, Indians, should first try to acquire swaraj. Will those that toil for making money and securing titles and seats on Legislative Councils or the post of a Minister, attend to the sufferings of our people in the Colonies ? Should not bitter divisions among us disappear at the thought of India's bondage?

Indians in East AFrica.

The Desabhaktan, of the 22nd April, contains a continuation of the article contributed by Mr.C.F.Andrews to the Young India of Mr.Gandhi about the condition of Indians in East AFrica, referred to in paragraph 6 of Report No.17 of 1920.

The Indians in East Africa.

The Kanthirava, of the 20th April, observes:--The fate of the Indians in East Africa is now more or less sealed. The authorities are now free to deive out the Indians at any time they please. They have only to write deported' on a piece of paper and sign it and it is done. Any disobedience, of this order is punished with imprisonment for six months, or a fine of three thousand, or both. There is no such thing as appeal, etc. This marks the close of the first act of their drama of autocracy and also the first interlude regarding their hatred of the Indians.]

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7. Quoting an extract from a communication by Doctor Money Lal from the Fiji islands, in which he says that the Government there have, instead of granting any municipal or political privileges to the Indians, shot some of them dead for having demanded a living wage and that this is all the British justice obtaining there, the Desabhaktan, of the 23rd April, observes:--What have we to say in addition to these remarks of Doctor Mani Lal? We fear we may have to face the Martial Law if we say more. But we need not be afraid as our Governor is Lord Willingdon.

Disturbance in the Fiji Islands.

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8. In continuation of what has already been said on this subject, the Kanthirava, of the 20th April, further observes:-- This question has now got mixed up with a religious hatred also. One can well understand the genuine enthusiasm the westerners have for peace from what even the purely Ecclesiastical authorities have written to the Prime Minister about it. When the Germans had arrived at the gates of Paris, and France despaired of saving her capital and looked to England for help, when the Germans were within a few miles of Calais, the British Ministers, had lost all courage. In such perilous times, the Indians, both Muslims and Hindus, pured out their blood on the battlefield. Had these people no thought of their mother country at heart? Oh Allies! Were not their souls as pure and their blood as red as of any European? Should not their country also benefit like yours?

The Turkish question.

And what have we in return for that dreadful sacrifice? the Rowlatt Act; the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre; Martial Law; and to add insult to injury, the Turkish question seems to have already been settled for the future historian. It is an irnoy of fate that the Indian Moslems had to lay down their life in Europe for crippling the authority of their own religious head. Says Rabindranath, "Prisoner, who forged the fetters which bind you?" The prisoner, "I worked day and night to make them, and they have at last been used for binding me."

The Turkish problem.

9. The Godavaripatrika, of the 16th March, referring to Turkish problem observes that President Wilson consents to the Turks being driven out of Constantinople. The paper is unable to understand on what principle the Turks are to be sent out of the houses and lands that they have been enjoying for many generations. It sees no justice in the action and remarks that such a step will cause unending sorrow to the Hindus in the British Empire and more so to their Muhammadan brethren. It prays that His Majesty the King-Emperor will prevent such a course of action.

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11. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd April, writes:--If the standard of living of the Indians is low, and they thus enjoy an advantage in competition with Europeans, the Europeans pitch their standard of living high, increase their wants without limit, produce more goods than are needed to meet the requirements of men, inordinately reduce the prices of factory produces comparatively with those of the products of home-industry, and, for the support of their factory industries, seek to keep the other nations of the world under their domination. Which of these two evils is more prejudicial to human progress and freedom? To excite hatred they may say that the Indians are wanting in truth, and morality, but the Indians do not yield to the Europeans in these matters. The reports of the Emigration Department of the United States of America make precious revelations about the virtues of the European emigrants in America.

Indian emigrants.

The paper then quotes from official documents, and concludes with-From the particulars above detailed it will appear that the vices ascribed to the Indians are false, and that favourable circumstances will help to shape the character of men's lives. If the condition of the Indian emigrants is to be improved, we must have the authority to exclude those foreigners who exclude us, and their goods.

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17. Referring to what the Grand Duke Nicholas has written about the "Red Peril in Russia", the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 23rd April, remarks:--Now this "Red Peril" is not for Russia alone. It is found existing everywhere. And what is this "Red Peril?" It is a peril that finds its vent in spilling the blood of the wicked. To ward off this peril the authorities must keep to their constitutional bounds. The best means of uprooting all evil power lies in adhering to just and constitutional authority. If recourse is not had to this path, the red peril must arise and fulfil its object.

The Bolshevist peril.

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20. The Qaumi Report, of the 22nd April, referring to the remarks of the Madras Times that certain delegates did not attend x the second day's proceedings of the Presidency Khalafat Conference held in Madras, as they were resolutely opposed to the resolution that co-operative relations with the Government should cease, says that all the Muslim delegates regularly attended the conference with the exception of very few Hindus and Mussalmans who turned up on the first day only to view the pandal and see Mowlana Shoukat Ali. When Mowlana Shoukat Ali put the question to audience whether there was anybody there who opposed the resolution, there we notexxxxx not a dissentient voice was heard. And yet the Times has the effrontery to make a statement like this and to comfort itself with such puerilities.

A white lie.

(k) General.

30. The Swadesamitran, of the 21st April, reproduces in Tamil an extract from the Cork Examiner of Ireland to the effect that the whole difficulty in India is that the Indians have begun to realise that India is their country and that they should have all the rights within it, and that the bureaucrats there characterise, as a movement of the Bolsheviks, the efforts made by the Indians to prevent the English officials plundering the country.

The Bholshevik movement in India.

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31. Remarking that, as Government servants are at present exercising their franchise in the matter of electing members to municipalities and local boards and the Reforms Act extends the franchise to them even in regard to the elections to the Legislative Councils, it is doubtful whether the existing rule, that Government servants should not take part in politics, will still be insisted on, the Hindu Nesan of the 21st April, observes:-- As the Government itself is a political organization, it is impossible to keep a Government servant from all politics. Further, it is not possible for Government officials to eschew politics altogether under the new administration, when the Government itself will be surrounded by numerous political parties; because a change in the policy of Government will necessarily involve a change in their living. Obtaining high offices will depend upon the officials being in the good graces of the political party in power and officials will have to join one party or another and, by adding to its power,

Government servants.

secure their own position. Power can control only the body and not the mind and the sympathies of an official for a particular party cannot be altered by an order of the Government. When high officials begin to openly work for the advancement of any particular party, it will lead to innumerable difficulties for the subordinates under them and also have an adverse effect on administrative matters, So it is necessary that the Government should prescribe rules regulating the conduct of their servants in political matters and keep the political propensities of the latter under check. If the head of a department belongs to one party and another party comes to power in the Government, is it proper for the new Government to replace this person by one of their party? Such changes in the personnel will become necessary if Government servants are to interfere in politics, and they will surely impair the efficiency of work in the departments concerned. So high officials should not at all participate in politics. There are several Associations of Government servants, whose object is to safeguard the interests of their members. If they are to do their work properly, some of the existing rules such as that prohibiting the submission by public servants of joint memorials, etc-, to Government will have to be changed. It is necessary again that orders should issue prohibiting high officials such as members of the Civil Service from taking part in politics as otherwise serious consequences will result.

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32. Referring to the statement made by Sir William Vincent at the February session of the Imperial Legislative Council that the report of the Hunter Committee would be published at the end of that month, and on another occasion that it would be published at the end of March and again thatit would be published soon after the Easter holidays, the Desabhaktan, of the 22nd April, observes:--Though it is now the end of April, the report has not yet been published, and the reason therefor is not apparent. How long is Mr.Montagu going to scrutinize the report? This report is not coming out with the expedition with which the Rowlatt Committee's report was published, and why? We wish to apprise the Government that this delay is giving room to the masses making all sorts of conjectures.

The report of the Hunter Committee.

Expressing its approval of the cable said to have been sent on behalf of the Bombay Home Rule League to the Secretary of State for India protesting against his decision to take action on the report of the Hunter Committee before its publication, the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd April, observes:--There has been a strong objection in India from the beginning to the very constitution of this Hunter Committee and the Committee have examined only the witnesses produced by the Government. So they cannot be said to have ascertained the full details and their report should be deemed to be based only on the version of one side. The truth can be patent only, if this report is perused with that of the Congress-sub-committee side by side. For this, it is incumbent on the Government to publish also the report of the Hunter Committee, ascertain public opinion and act accordingly.. Seeing that, without

The Report of the Hunter Committee.

adopting this step, Mr.Montagu is doing things secretly, there is no room for the people to feel confident that he will administer proper justice. It is understood from the Amrita Bazaar Patrika that, on the very next day after the arrival of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in England, Mr.Montagu sent for him and had a long discussion with him and the members of the Cabinet on the Amritsar incidents. We regret very much that the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet have not realised that such actions are not calculated to infuse confidence in the minds of the Indian public about British justice.

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33. In a note under this heading the Desabhaktan, of the 22nd April, refers to the news that the services of an Indian teacher in a school near London were dispensed with; because the parents did not like the idea of their children studying under an Indian and remarks:--It is said that class-hatred is strong in East AFrica and South AFrica. But when such class-hatred is found to prevail in Engalnd, what is the wonder about its existence in those tracts? If English parents do not like their children studying under Indians, how can Indian parents relish the idea of allowing their children to study under English teachers?

Class-hatred.

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35. Expressing its surprise at the statement said to have been made by Mr.Montagu in Parliament that the decision of Lord Meston, one not belonging to his party, is entitled to respect, the Dravidan, of the 21st April, observes:--All of us know that Lord Meston is a creature of Mr.Montagu and that he is even seeking the good graces of the latter. While so, Mr.Montagu has cleverly remarked that Lord Meston is an independent person not set up by any one and that his decision should he given due weight. He has made this statement evidently under the apprehension that the Parliament might reject the decision of Lord Meston, taking him to be a partisan of his. It is certain that we would succeed in our attempt, if we make an incessant agitation inasmuch as the righteous Parliament is ready to help our cause.

Lord Meston's award.

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41. In a column under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 22nd April, reproduces in Tamil the following extracts from an American weekly entitled the Indian News:--

Liberty for India and the Sympathy of the Americans.

India and the enemy countries.--As soon as the alleged Peace treaty was signed, an emergency legislation was introduced in India by the British prohibiting the people of Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria from setting foot in India for five years to come. The Indians are excited over this ordinance, and have been asking whether its object is to prevent the Indians from carrying on political progaganda work in view to secure liberty or to crush the mercantile competition of Germany and make money by selling the British goods in the Indian market at uncontrolled prices.........Though the Indians are kept unarmed and though the Englishmen have enough of bullets, guns, aeroplanes and motor vehicles, the former are ready to protect their motherland against harm.......

India and the success of the Bolsheviks.--As an effect of the success of the Russian extremists in Siberia, the demand for the shares of Indian Companies has gone down in the stock exchange in London. Some experts in England apprehend that Russia has begun to entertain friendly relations publicly with Afghanistan with the object of doing away with the British rule in India and that an invasion of British India by the Russo-Afghan troops and the excited Persian, Turkish and Arabian soldiers may be expected. The American representatives in the Eastern territories are carefully watching the trend of events.

India must have liberty.--

The following statements were made by Senator Norris while speaking on the 'atrocities' in Egypt:--Soon after the Indian troops returned home after fighting in the various theaters of war, with a spirit of liberty and with the conviction that they too will obtain the right of self-determination, the British shot the people dead in the Punjab with machine-guns, and fire was opened on a peaceful mob. The people realised that their trust was misplaced and their expectations were incorrect.

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42. Referring to the news received from Allahabad that Janab Hamid Ahmed, who was delivering lectures there on the Khilafat question, and who was told by the local District Magistrate that he should either furnish security for good behaviour for a period of one year, or undergo rigorous imprisonment for that period, preferred to enter prison, the Swadesamitran, of the 24th April, remarks:--It is our sincere conviction that good results are bound to flow from the sacrifice made by this noble soul who is the first in India to enter prison for the Khilafat. We expect that the Government will act calmly, realising that no-self-respecting Mussalman will give security for good behaviour.

A Moslem enters prison for the Khilafat.

The Desabhaktan, of the 24th April, also refers to the above news and observing that it will cause regret to Hindus and Moslems, says:--Even if Janab Hamid Ahmed had spoken transgressing the bounds of law, the District Magistrate might have warned him in view of the critical condition of the country. It is ~~regrettable~~ that officials

officials should act without understanding the condition of the country.

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43. Referring to an incident in the Bombay Presidency, where the ladies of the family of a x respectable Indian, travelling xxxxx in a second-class compartment from Nasik to Delhi, were compelled to leave that compartment and get into another by the rude and unseemly behaviour of a European Military Officer, the Desabhaktan, of the 24th April, observes:--

The high-handed action of a European Military Officer.

Such incidents are of frequent occurrence in India. We ask the Government whether there is any room to hope for amity between Europeans and Indians in India, if, in addition to behaving brutishly like this, the former continue to insult Indian men and women and treat them badly? Though more than 150 years have elapsed since the advent of the British rule in India and though Indians and Europeans thxxx are said to be equals in every respect, some arrogant Europeans treat Indian men and women insultingly even at the present time, when so much is spoken of liberty, equality and fraternity. It is necessary that those Europeans who, by their mischieveous acts affect the friendly relations between Europeans and Indians, should be punished suitably. Light punishments such as the levying of a fine and the insisting upon of an apology will not correct these rude men. They should be flogged in open court and taught a lesson. It may be a surprise to some that we recommend a punishment, which is declared to be a barbarous one in these days.

But our conviction is that, when innocent people in the Punjab have been flogged, there is nothing wrong in flogging the obstinate Europeans belonging to the army who are acting barbarously and are loosening the holy ties of friendship between Europeans and Indians.

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44. The Swadesamitran of the 21st 22nd and 23rd April, also contain leaders under this heading, in which it continues the narration of the incidents in the Punjab and observes:-- Kings in ancient days used to say that they derived their authority from God. The present day Governments acquire their authority from the people. But many of the officials that administered martial law in the Punjab conducted themselves in such a manner as to make one doubt whether they derived their authority from fieuds. Mr.Bosworth Smith punished all the people in a village called Navapindam for the reason that some persons robbed and burnt down an adjacent railway station. On the instigation of the Police, many were identified by the railway porters and arrested. One of them, who said that he never left the place on the day, appears to have been tied to a tree and flogged. Those who offered to give evidence on the side of the police were released. Still sentence was pronounced on the accused one after another, without any evidence being heard. Some have written that Justice was not administered properly in ancient days and that it is administered strictly under the British Rule. Is not the Punjab under British rule and is not Mr.Bosworth Smith a British official? Many have stated before the sub-committee that those who took food to the prisoners were not allowed to give it to them, unless they paid to the guard one rupee a day for each

The woes of the Punjab.

prisoner. Besides the officials appropriating in cash and kind as much as they could, the village was ordered to pay a fine of Rs.10,000 and a third of it was collected immediately. Such things were done by Mr.Bosworth Smith, a righteous soul, under the orders and with the consent of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who had the support of Lord Chelmsford, conducting the administration here on behalf of the King Emperor. Let those who wish to win prizes by writing a book on the benefits India has derived from the British rule add this chapter also hereafter. The official who actively supported Mr.Bosworth Smith in shooting down people by means of machine guns at Sugarkhana is one Rai Sahib Sriram, a Subdivisional officer. We recommend that the Government should soon confer a big title on him and grant him a jaghir. Lyallpur is a place in the Punjab where martial law was introduced, when in the opinion of the local Magistrate no disturbance whatever had taken place there, and the people had to undergo all the hardships resulting therefrom. In Guzerat, one individual, who had rendered help to the authorities in several directions during the period of the war and who had received several sannads from the Government, had also to taste the effect of martial law. When this is the lot of even those that supported the officials, much need not be said of others, martial law was introduced even in Jalalpuri, though nothing else happened there except that one telegraphic wire was cut off. Here respectable persons were compelled to pull punkas and to clean sewers and railway clerks were dismissed from their appointments, though they were exonerated by courts. Judging from the narration of facts as reported by the Congress Sub-committee, it will be clear that the condition in the Punjab did not warrant the introduction of martial law. Four Europeans were unjustly murdered, some buildings were burnt down, one or two trains

were derailed, some bridges injured and some telegraphic wires cut. Even these things were done only in certain places. It is a great mistake that, for this, Martial law should have been introduced throughout the area. The officials made an attempt to prove before the Hunter Committee that there was a conspiracy among the people to subvert the Government. But they could not substantiate it. There was no such conspiracy at all. The feelings of the people there were already wounded on account of the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the unjust deportation of Dr, Satyapal and Dr.Kitchliew, as well as the order arresting Mr.Gandhi and prohibiting his entry into the Punjab, excited the people. It is this excitement that the authorities exaggerated into war and rebellion, and they introduced martial law and continued it in force long after all trouble had disappeared. The Congress sub-committee say that on the whole 1,200 persons were killed and 3,600 persons wounded. There is an English proverb running Tooth for a tooth and nail for a nail' to indicate a spirit of vengeance. But, in the Punjab, three hundred Indian lives were sacrificed for every English life lost. Those who have died are not going to come back to life and those that have lost their arms are not going to have them back. But how is justice on right lines to be established after these iniquities? The pictures published by the Congress sub-committee will demonstrate the low condition of the Indians in the world. The heart of every one is moved by these pictures. We have long been believing the statement of the British that they are governing us strictly on the principles of justice. But how can the conduct of their officials in thus abusing, beating and shooting down people as they like be compatiable with

the alleged safety of life and property under the British rule? This advantage can be had even in highly barbarous countries. But the incidents in the Punjab have proved that this protection too is not to be had in India under the British rule. What are the Ministers exercising power on behalf of His Majesty going to do? The Secretary of State for India is having the report of the Hunter Committee in his hands and considering about it. If he acts according to the suggestions of the Congress sub-committee, will such iniquities not recur? Offences are committed only on account of ignorance. So we should take the recommendation of the sub-committee, that all the officials connected with the Punjab incidents should be removed from office, to be a very kind one. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has retired from service and is going to have a happy time of it with a decent pension. What lesson then will his lot teach to his successors in office? It will only create the feeling that, whatever mistakes they may commit, they will not lose their pension and that the saintly Indians will excuse all their faults. Why should he not be proceeded against criminally? If it is justice to punish ordinary men committing offences, why should not a case be launched against Sir Michael, who either instigated or abetted the commission of several offences? The Goddess of Justice will not be provoked, if General Dyer and other great men are subjected to harsher punishments than this. But the taking away of life does not teach a lesson to one who has committed an offence. Let them live long drawing India's money as pension. Still, why should not action be taken against them openly, so as to make them and the world feel that they acted wrongly? If it is a fact that Bosworth Smith spat upon ladies, why should not some ladies spit upon him? Will it do to merely remove Lord Chelmsford from office?

Even then, some will come forward to present a farewell address to him and garland him. He will, for ever, be saying in England that the British Government was about to be subverted in India and that he prevented it by his timely action, and Colonel Yate and others will be supporting that statement. Why should he not be impeached in Parliament, so as to expose to England the grand way in which he conducted the administration here? Let him explain and escape if possible. The sub-committee state that though General Dyer and others may be proceeded against, they do not want to suggest that course. Histories say that Jesus Christ, who preached that if one is slapped on one cheek, one should show the other cheek also for receiving a slap, lived 1920 years ago; but He seems to have incarnated as members of the Congress sub-committee. As several of the Europeans, who profess Christ to be their preceptor and God, have cast his teachings to the winds, the Indians have perhaps to follow Him and put the westerns in mind of Him. No one with good sense will deny that the recommendations of the Congress-sub-committee are very moderate. They have taken much trouble, investigated several points and mentioned only such things as can be proved beyond doubt. The fact that the sub-committee have not even referred in their report to the several documents, produced before them to prove that the very publication of the notice of a meeting at the Jallianwallah Bagh was the work of some enemies, shows, how liberally they have viewed the conduct of the officials. Though we cannot concede that their recommendations are adequate, let us see if the Secretary of State will act upon these recommendations at least. The woes of the Punjab end with this and our prayer is that the woes of India too should come to an end.

~~Referring to the publication of the report of the Congress~~

The Punjab disorders.

Referring to the publication of the report of the Congress Committee on Punjab disorders and the Report of the Hunter Committee shortly expected, a note in the Yogakshemam, of the 2nd April, observes:--

"Whatever may be said and whoever may say it, two things are evident, first, that the administration of the Punjab, prior to the disturbance, gave rise to grave dissatisfaction and the people who were not able to put up with the evil administration were driven to their wit's end; second, that all the punitive measures, introduced by Government after the disturbances, generally amounted to retribution."

Mr. Montagu and Mr. Horniman.

50. The Desabhaktan, of the 24th April, refers to the reply of Mr. Montagu to the questions asked in Parliament about Mr. Horniman, that the whole thing rests with Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, and says:--Mr. Montagu has not yet fully informed the House of Commons of the charges against Mr. Horniman. ~~xxxxx xxxxxxxIfxMrxHornimanxhadxhatchedxanyx~~ The former made a statement once which has been refuted by the latter, and Mr. Montagu has not met the refutation till now. If a Britisher is to have this justice in the British territory itself, why should the Indians feel any regret for their grievances?

The same paper dwells upon this subject again in a leader in its issue of the 26th April 1920, and raising the question as to why the Secretary of State should exist, if the Provincial heads are to do everything as they like, repeats

some of its observations made soon after the deportation of Mr.Horniman and adds:--

If Mr. Horniman had hatched any conspiracy to destroy the British Government, why should he not be tried for it in a court of law and why should Mr.Montagu hesitate to do so? If Sir George Lloyd has the power to deport Mr.Horniman, we think he has the power to try him too. Even if he is not inclined to try him, he can at least state clearly the offences said to have been committed by the latter; but he is keeping quiet only because he is sure of the support of Mr. Montaug. When a Britisher has not yet obtained justice in British territory, how can there be real unity in the land, as desired by His Majesty?

Anent this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 26th April, echoes some of the sentiments of the Desabhaktan, and , expatiating upon the merits of Mr.Horniman, observes:--
The very fact of one being an Englishmen is a great advantage to one in India and if such an Englishman is possessed also of ordinary intelligence, what is not possible for him? Mr.Horniman had these advantages and yet he was deported by the Government and is not yet permitted to return here, merely because he sympathised with the Indians, detested the action of the bureaucracy in conducting the administration here contrary to British principles and criticised it without fear or favour. Mr.Montagu believes that Sir George Lloyd would have acted properly and only in accordance with the powers vested in him by law. How can this explanation stand? Is Sir George Lloyd subordinate to Mr.Montagu or not? Has the latter ascertained facts from the former and, if so, why should he not publish them? Lord Pentland exercised only powers vested in him by law when he took action against Mrs. Besant. Did not Lord Chelmsford and Mr.Montagu set aside his

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order? Should not even offenders be pardoned and the reforms given effect to in a fresh atmosphere, according to the Royal Proclamation? We would humbly submit that Mr. Montagu is not justified in rendering the words in the Proclamation so ineffective. Under existing conditions, the only conclusion of the people can be that Mr.Horniman was deported because he was favourable to the people can be that Mr.Horniman was deported because he was favourable to the people can be that Mr.Horniman was deported because he was favourable to the people and do Mr.Montagu and Sir George Lloyd think that no harm will result from it? The people do think that this deportation is a great injustice. The action of the Government in this matter only demonstrates their strength and not justice.

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 26th April, writes to the following effect:--.........This deportation did not excite so much surprise, at the time when it was made, as its effect was lost in that of the other stirring events that occurred then......... Mr.Montagu does not intefere with the liberty of the Provincial Government. If this liberty should be at the expense of the wishes of the people, we do not want such a liberty.......The insipid reply of Mr.Montagu in the House of Commons does befit his honour, especially at a time when His Majesty demands the co-operation of all.........Mr.Montagu's action shows that he has yielded to the influence of the India Office. When an Englishman of consequence, like Mr.Horniman who has helped to uphold the prestige of the British Government by exposing the irregularities of some officers, is denied his birthrights

what can be said of ordinary men?.........The Civil Rights Committees must wake up and agitate for the birthrights of the people without which the reforms cannot satisfy them.

Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 24th April, writes to the following effect:--

The deportation of Mr. Horniman.

It is improper that the Government should ~~not~~ cancel the order of deportation even after the Royal Proclamation. This cannot be justified from any point of view.........Mr.Montagu is in favour of the decision of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay. He has not undertaken to put down the high-handedness of officers like Sir Michael O'Dwyer. In these, he sets at naught the example set by Lord Morley........The effect of the reforms granted by Mr.Montagu is in a great measure neutralised by his repressive policy. A co-ordination of repression and reconciliation cannot meet with success. Lord Morley tried it and found it a failure. It is certain that the birthrights of Indians cannot be secured by the reforms granted, which will be useless without them. The Indians must strive hard to have their birthrights safeguarded.

General Dyer.

52. Remarking that the name of General Dyer will doubtless be printed boldly in black types in the pages of the history of India and referring to a farewell address presented to him by about a hundred ladies of Jullundar on the eve of his departure to England, the Desabhaktan, of the 27th April, says:--The statement, in the address, that the loss of many lives is regretted, raises all sorts of doubts. We do not know if these ladies ascertained as to who was the cause of the loss of lives during the disturbances of last year. General Dyer's massacre of people at Jallianwallah Bagh made the whole world shudder. Does General Dyer, who, without any previous warning, brutishly killed thousands of innocent people forgetting all principles of humanity, deserve an address? We wish those ladies that presented this address to him should raise a memorial for him. But Jallianwallah Bagh itself will serve as such memorial for ages to come. Why does General Dyer go to England now? Has he taken leave, or has he been removed from office? Some moderate papers dance with joy presuming the latter. If this is true, why have not the Government of India issued any communique about it? In the absence of such a communique, we cannot accept the statement of these moderate papers. Even supposing that he has been removed from office, how can that be done before the publication of the report of the Hunter Committee? Perhaps, this report will be published only after General Dyer reaches England.

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56. Referring, under this heading, to the report that a European in Military costume intruded into a second-class carriage occupied by Indian ladies, in a train running from Bombay, and behaved insolently, despite the intercession of the Railway officers, the Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd April, remarks:--A doubt arises if there can be any scope for the co-operation demanded by His Majesty the King-Emperor, so long as Europeans of this type are in our country.

The contempt of the Anglo-Indians.

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57. The Desabhimani, of the 11th April, has a note to the following effect:--It is said that Sir Michael O'Dwyer after his return to India as the President of the Army Commission moved about always with body-guards by his side. What is the cause of such fear? Out of what has the pay of these body-guards been paid? Is it from his salary, or from the taxes paid by the people? Who asked for such a cowardly person being sent out? Could no better person be found in England? Commissions are in themselves of no use, and such expenditure is stillmore useless.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

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60. In this leader under this heading, the Desabhimani, of the 11th April quotes statistics of the proposed increase in the salaries of the officers of the Imperial services and observes to the follwing effect:--The salaries have been increased by about 40 percent. All statesmen are agreed upon the fact that the officers in this branch of service are being paid the highest salaries, in the civilised countries of the world. Our Viceroy is paid Rs.2,50,800 a year, while the President of the ~~world. Our Viceroy~~ United States is paid ~~a year Rs.~~ only Rs. 2,30,000 and a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy is paid Rs.80,000 while the Minister of the American President gets Rs.36,000, and the Minister of the Emperor of Japan receives Rs.12,000........The Premier of the British Empire receives Rs,75,000 while the other Ministers receive Rs,60,000 and the Secretary of State for India gets Rs.30,000. A consideration of these facts will show how much India spends on the salaries of the officers.,,.........The increase in the salaries in the Provincial Officers is only 22 per cent.........The difference between the salary of the lowest member of any department in our country and that of the highest officer is inordinately large. Such a differenc is to be found in no other country. While the pay of the Police constable in this country ranges from Rs.10 to Rs.16, that of the Inspector-General of Police ranges from Rs.2,000 to Rs.3,000......

The burden of the expenditure on administration.

The reason for such a state of things is the present system of administration. Will there be room for such an abnormal state of things if we have Home Rule or self-government? Even the authors of the reforms are afraid that these will be none, and it is for this reason that they have not given no any control over the salaries of the officers, of the Imperial Service; and it is perhaps by reason of this fear

that they have, in great haste and without consulting the opinion of the people or their leaders, raised those salaries. How can funds be found to meet this increased expenditure? It must be by means of retrenching some useful items of expenditure. This is a great loss to the country.

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61. In its leader under this heading, the Kistnapatrika, of the 17th April, writes to the following effect:--The principle of the moderates is briefly this:--

The gate to freedom.

If the Indians want higher powers, they must see that the present reforms are worked with success. The British Parliament which is to test us will grant us what we deserve. This involves four points, viz., that the Indians are not now fit for complete self-government, that we should submit to the test of the British Parliament, that we should keep in view the British ideals, and that we should confide in the disinterested co-operation of the British Parliament in our political evolution. It is only those that accept these that will find the reforms satisfactory. The nationalists do not accept these.......Even the scheme of the Congress is a compromise. The fifteen years' time limit, the refusal to submit to the test of others and the demand for safeguarding by a statute the primary rights of the Indians, are the life of the Congress scheme..........The moderates accept a lifeless scheme and blame the Congress. Mrs.Besant is in reality at one with the moderates in their principles but she cleverly puts the best face on them. The party of Mr.Tilak are not the persons to be imposed upon by specious arguments. They are the keen reasoners who, on a close scrutiny of the reforms, pronounced that they are disappointing. They are the mathematicians who have proved by facts and figures that the reforms do not make over to the people even 22 out

the 193 crores of ruppees of Indian revenue. Are such persons to be imposed upon by Mrs.Besant's eloquence? Do the present reforms open the gates of freedom. ....We cannot understand Mrs.Besant's definition of freedom. Rest assured that we shall have only dependence and no freedom, so long as our political destiny is in the hands of aliens. The Parliament is to hold a decennial test! The examinees naturally consult the pleasure of the examiner always. Our mental servitude is strengthened, and not weakned by this reason.... There can be no greater lie than to say that reforms that specify no limit to the grant of complete-self-government, reforms that do not place the destiny of the country in the hands of people, reforms that do not safeguard their primary rights, open the gates of freedom. People have understood the secret of the reforms. What is the use of eulogies?

The Congress Programme.

63. Reviewing the proposed programme of the Congress Party, the Andhrapatrika, of the 27th April, says:-- While the Liberal Party and the National Home Rule League have placed their own programmes before the public, the Congress cannot but publish its own........Without the hearty co-operation of the Government, the co-operation of the people will be of no avail. If the angle of vision of the authorities changes, the rulers and the ruled will both be benefited by it. But when there is no scope for co-operation, the nationalists will not hesitate to assume an attitude of opposition. Besides, self-government is the birthright of the people which none can deprive them of. The nationalists believe that only the people of a country, and not others, are fit to decide what form its self-government should take. This is in keeping with the principle of self-determination formulated at the time of war. The nationalists will do their level best to secure complete self-government for India at an early date and will not wait silently to stand the test of the decennial test. Such examinations have not hitherto been held in any country. No nation can ever get self-government by following the wishes of others. If this truth is recognised, the necessity of the Congress programme will become evident. The Programme prepared by Mr.Tilak has been prepared in accordance with the right of self-determination of the Indians. There can be no doubt that the resolutions of the Amritsar Congress are an expression of the firm views of the Indians. It is the duty of everybody to see that they are given effect to. The Madras Congress Committee wish that only those who undertake to do so should be returned to the Legislative Councils...... The Andhras should insist upon the administration being carried on through the vernaculars and the country reconstituted into provinces on a language basis. Without this reform,

Without this reform, there can be no national self-government.

Referring to the Congress Committee's report concerning the Punjab disturbances, the Kanthirava, of the 13th April, writes:-- This elaborate and exhaustive report is apt to operate as a veritable spear thrust to the Punjab Government.

The Congress Committee's Report.

But there is an advantage here that we can compare and contrast the pictures presented by the non-officials and the officials and find out the characteristics of each. And we are grateful to the patriots who made the contrast possible. The paper next publishes an extract from the report touching the remarks regarding Lord Chelmsford.

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parties.

65. The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th April, gives in Telugu the reply of Mr. Doss to Lord Sinha's criticism of the nationalists delivered in a meeting held at Patna.

A reply to Lord Sinha.

The Swedeshabhimani, of the 16th April, writes:--

Lord Sinha and Party politics.

Lord Sinha praises the Moderates. But now, Lord Sinha, unlike Bannerjee, belongs to no party. He is to be classed among the officers who must be impartial in all matters. Though he may be a Moderate at heart, yet the garb of office requires that he must keep himself at equal distance from all parties. But the bureaucracy, says Lord Morley in his 'Reminiscences,' cannot help resorting to such expendiencies. Such an eminent politician as the late Mr. Gokhale, tells us how even he could not escape the official snare. Let Lord Sinha think it desirable, if it please him, that there should be a split between the two parties. But we cannot help regretting the split, though we may have to differ from Lord Sinha here.

Lab.

73. The Kanthirava, of the 6th April, in a leading article complaining of the economic distress among the people, writes:--To any question put in the Legislative Council about the distress of the people, Government have only one answer.

The Labour problem in India.

They tell us that the same condition is prevailing everywhere in the world. The Viceroy is telling us again and again that the Indians are on the whole more prosperous than ever. But it is not difficult to see what amount of truth there is in this statement. In spite of the unspeakable distress that prevails, the Indians are quiet; because, unlike the westerners, they are, by nature, patient and uncomplaining. One hears very often that Bolshevism has been strongly influencing the poor labourers of Bombay and Jamshedpur in making them strike work. To believe it of people who have neither the time nor the opportunity to know anything about what is going on in the world around them is really ludicrous. And further, they have neither the education nor the requisite depth of thought to understand the principles underlying Bolshevism. But then, how are we to explain the strikes that are so common among the people? We cannot believe that Bolshevism has anything to do with it. It is a thing beyond our comprehension. The only way we can explain it is by attributing it to the prevailing economic distress. And we need not have any fear of Bolshevism spreading among us, if our rulers make a sympathetic inquiry into the condition of our labourers. When the Almighty Himself cannot stay the wheel of time, of what avail is human effort? The spirit of the times is such that owing to the great scarcity of the daily necessities of life and

the utter lack of sympathy, in addition, the minds of even ~~the most innocent~~ the most innocent are seething with a secret discontent and become unconsciously initiated into Bolshevism. Would it not be a great calamity to the country to allow, such an all-destructive creed to take root and become established through want of sympathy? The capitalist by a 'lock out' may triumph for the time being. But how long can it last?

Lord Sinha and the Reforms.

78. Commenting on what Lord Sinha said to a press representative about the Reforms Act and the difficulty of working it on account of want of funds, the Kanthirava, of the 20th April, writes:--It is impossible for the Reforms Act to enter into a redistribution of the revenue so that unnecessary expenditure may be avoided. The bureaucracy is so impatient about bettering its own status and emoluments as to make the Indians cry: "Oh! Save us from this super-efficient and super-clever heaven-born service!" It is thus impossible to meet the extra expenditure by any retrenchment, and it is hardly possible that the retepayers in these times of economic stress can bear extra taxation. Only the actual working of the reform scheme can show whether there has been a real transfer of responsibility to the people in the matter of trade and industries which alone can give us additional funds. Even believing what the bureaucracy says, namely, that the people will henceforth have a real voice in these matters, will not the people take some time to increase the revenue of their Government? How grossly absurd it is to propose to tax the people in anticipation of an increase in their income. We would therefore like Lord Sinha himself to tell us what means

are open for providing ample funds for carrying out the changes under the reforms.

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79. Referring to the recent Royal Proclamation, the Kanthirava, of the 20th April, writes:--When we know full well the benefits conferred on us by the Proclamation of Queen Victoria sixty years ago, when we know how much of it has been put to practice, when all this is so clearly evident, is it necessary to waste our breath on it once again? The Proclamation says that in the eye of the law we are all equal, irrespective of caste, creed or sect. But as we have repeatedly said, the clauses of the proclamation are set at nought by the legislation introduced by His Majesty's representatives. What we say is fully borne out by paragraphs 16, 314 and 315 of the Reforms Report which are altogether unavailaing for the purpose of minimising racial distinction. While we welcome the announcement that His Majesty desires greater co-operation between the Government and the subjects, we cannot all the same overlook the fact that the present proclamation does not bring us anything which has not been promised already by the proclamation of Queen Victoria.

The Royal Proclamation.

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80. Under this heading the Kanthirava, of the 20th April, writes:--One proof of the defeat of the bureaucracy in the recent political fight in India is the Reforms Act. But is is necessary that the bureaucracy should co-operate with the people to work out this Act successfully. But do not these bureaucrats, these Anglo-Indians, who tried to oppose the Bill at every step appear on a clear examination akin to the Germans at the settlement of peace terms, in rejoicing over its enactment, in not disclosing their secret hatred for it, and in promising co-operation with the people in working it out? For instance, no "Extremist" has admission into the Reforms Advisory Committee, but only a few "Moderates". Their opinion is unnecessary. It is true that the Reforms Act is well intentioned. But the actual intermediaries through whom we have to receive its benefits might withhold them from us. One wonders if all the evils of the age have been kept in store for the Indian people.

The new era.

Khil

82. Referring to the resolutions passed at the Khilafat Conference held at Madras, advocating non-co-operation with Government, the Manorama, of the 20th April, points out that such views and such resolutions have caused not a little amazement to many people and many doubt their practicability, and that even those who have great sumpathy for Khilafat matters and even leaders who have been working incessantly to conclude this matter in a way satisfactory to the Muslim world, look upon these resolutions with suspicion, and observes that some people even apprehend, as a result of this movement, the recurrence of disturbances, similar to those which followed Satyagraha, passive resistance and hartal.

The Khilafat question.

Writing on the same subject, the Manorama in its issue of the 23rd April, remarks that it is not at all an exaggeration to say that the majority of the people of India are of opinion that the resolutions are not practical.

The Kerala Patrika, of the 24th April, observes that these resolutions cannot fail to cause surprise to thoughtful people, that while the resolution relating to the giving up of appointments under Government will be a source of gratification to passed men who are seeking employment and the resolution relating to the giving up of honours and titles will not cause joy or pain to any one, the resolution regarding opposition to Government will not meet with the approval of Hindus or Muhammadans who have any love for their country, and that the decision of this conference can never be considered to be the public opinion on the subject.

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